1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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surrounded with grass and covered with paper bark. The bark is covered with human blood, on which is pasted birds' down or bush cotton, and on one yermerlindi a representation of Muit is painted in human blood against the white-feather or cotton background. This yermerlindi is another emblem of the rock python totem. The other is called a palm tree emblem, but it is known to be a python totem too, for it has a snake design upon it. The two are stood up by the Yiritja men. They say to each other, "Oh! They are true Wongars [totemic spirits]." The leader sings a song to prevent sickness since the yermerlindi are very powerful because Muit is inside them.

2. The Yiritja camp, where the yermerlindi is made, although still on the men's ceremonial ground, is placed at one side of the actual dancing ground. No Dua man can go near it. The Dua leader asks from time to time by circumlocution if the yermerlindi is made, even when the emblem is completed.

While the Yiritja are making the yermerlindi, the Dua men send presents of food to them for making the yermerlindi. The Yiritja men send the Dua presents of kangaroo fat and red ocher with which to paint the Yiritja dancers.

The Dua leader of the Gunabibi once more asks if the Yiritja have finished their work, and they reply that yermerlindi is ready. The leader says, "One day more and then we will dance with yermerlindi." The Yiritja never say that yermerlindi is ready until the two messengers have returned with the visitors.

3. Following the blue-tongued lizard dance which marks the end of a phase of the ceremony, the Gunabibi pauses so the men may eat their evening meal.

Later in the evening the neophytes are placed on the raised ground on the concave side of the kartdjur. Two leaders now conduct the ceremony. A new phase of the Gunabibi has begun. A long shallow trench of some fifty feet is extended from one end of the kartdjur. The neophytes have bushes placed under their armpits. The Yiritja snakes and the Dua leaders put their own arm sweat on the eyes of all the initiates.

All those who are not dancing stand on the raised ground with the chorus. Two dancers sing reed warbler in a small piping tone which forms a ludicrous contrast to the heavy male chorus. The onlookers in chorus appreciate the deliberate humor of the contrast. The clown element, although not definitely and elaborately developed, is present in this part of the ceremony as well as later.

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Type I. Wrapped Paper Bark Ranga.—This type divides into six main varieties. They are:

(1) Bifurcated Fish Tail Ranga

Paper bark is torn from a tree and folded into a solid flattened cylindrical mass which tapers from a blunt to a fairly narrow end. The whole surface of the emblem is wrapped with one continuous vegetable fiber string. A notch of four or five inches is formed at one end of the emblem to represent a fish tail. At times a stick is sharpened and pushed into the small end of the body for a distance of about four to five inches (sometimes through the whole paper-bark core) to form the tail. Often a tail is constructed by dividing the small end into two halves and wrapping each half with string.

This ranga is also made in carved wood.

Measurements:

Total length: one to two foot variation, norm sixteen inches.

Total width: one and three-quarters to four and one-half inches variation, norm three inches (widest part).

Thickness: one-quarter inch to one and three-quarters inch variation, norm one and three-quarters inch.

(2) Bird-headed Ranga

The same technique is used as for (1), the only difference being the shape, which represents the neck and beak of a long-necked and long-beaked bird. A sharpened stick is carved at one end into two projecting points to represent the open beak of a bird, and is shoved into the small end of the paper bark. The effect is also obtained by splitting the paper bark and adding beeswax to strengthen and hold it in place.

This variety is also duplicated in carved wood.

Measurements:

Length: ten to thirty-three inch variation, norm twenty-seven inches.

Diameter: two to four inch variation, norm two and three-quarters inches.

(3) Fish Mouth Ranga

The wrapping technique is also used with this form. Two barbed sticks are put into the large end of the paper bark, the barbs turning inward to represent the mouth of a fish.

Measurements:

Length: two feet to two feet, six inches.

Width: two inches to three inches.

Prongs: three and one-half to seven inches.

(4) Flat-tailed Fish Ranga

This type has a paper-bark core wrapped with fiber string and the barbed prongs of Type (3); but in addition a sharpened stick is inserted into the

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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778 small end of the paper bark which has a flat square piece of beeswax at
532 the end to represent a fish tail.

Measurements:

Length: two feet to two feet, six inches.
Width: two to three inches.
Prongs: three and one-half to seven inches.

(5) Oblong Ranga

This is a solid core of paper bark wrapped with string. It symbolizes clouds, cycad palms, et cetera.

Measurements:

Length: eleven inches to sixteen inches.
Width: two to three inches.
Thickness: one and one-half inches.

(6) Rod-form Ranga

The paper bark is wrapped into a long, slender rod-like shape and is hung with pendants of human hair tipped with cockatoo feathers. The top usually has a crest of parrot feathers.

Measurements:

Length: twenty-nine inches.
Diameter: two inches.

Type II. Carved Wooden Ranga.—The wooden type is usually carved from a light wood (stringy bark). A small log is split into two parts and one portion cut into the shape desired, or the entire log is used.

In addition to the carved wooden rangas mentioned under Type I, there are the following varieties:

(1) Oblong Ranga

The ends of this form may be slightly rounded or square. The carved wood may or may not be wrapped with string. It is always painted. Parallel lines are incised around the oblong form.

Measurements:

Length: eighteen to thirty-nine inches, norm twenty-four inches.
Width: two to four and one-half inches, norm three inches.

(2) Barbed Ranga

This variety is found only in the western part of northeast Arnhem Land and properly belongs to the people around the Liverpool River. It is unwrapped and painted. Its measurements are about the same as those of Type (1).

(3) Pronged Ranga (Garawark variety)

There are three varieties of this type, based on measurements.

This type has two flattened sides slightly convex and two prongs in one or both ends; the prongs and body are carved from one piece of wood. Frequently the whole or part of the body is wrapped with feathered fiber

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string; at other times it is only painted with totemic designs. The wrapped types are also painted. Opossum string fringe is sometimes added to the wrapping. 778 532

Usually this type represents a mythical fish, but sometimes (in the west) a woman.

Measurements:

(a) Length: two feet.
Width: two and one-quarter inches.
Prong length: five inches.

(b) Length: three feet.
Width: three inches.
Prong length: ten inches.

(c) Length: five feet.
Width: three inches.
Prong length: sixteen inches.

(4) Plain Cylindrical Ranga

One variety of cylindrical ranga usually has at its two ends three or four carved flattened panels. The carving extends about six inches from each end. Ordinarily the pole is wrapped in feathered string and painted with geometrical designs indicating the species the emblem symbolizes. Such things as fire, iguana's tail, and woman are represented. When the last is formed, two wooden knobs are carved about eight inches from the top to represent the woman's breasts; at a distance of a foot from the bottom a one-and-one-half-inch hole is incised and lined with human hair and an inner layer of parrot feathers to represent the pubic hair and vagina; and a fringe of human hair is placed on the top of the pole. An incision running around the circumference of the pole is made below the knobs forming the breasts. It indicates the cicatrice cut or burned in the native women's chests below their breasts. [304]

All of the cylinder may or may not have streamers of red parrot feathers hanging from the wrapped fiber string. Sometimes human hair string is used instead of the fiber string.

Measurements:

Length: two feet four inches.
Width: two to seven inches.

A second variety of cylinder has one sharp prong extending from each end for a distance of about one-third the length of the object. The total length of this variety of ranga varies from two to four and one-half feet. The body part is entirely or partly wrapped with feathered fiber string and painted.

Type III. Stone Ranga.—Two varieties of stone ranga are found among these people, the first a pointed type and the second a flat oblong form. The former is usually a river-bed stone of the form and shape of an upper

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718 grinding stone. The latter is a flat stone about five inches by one-half to
532 one inch. Both are painted.

534 *Bull Roarers.*—Bull roarers are always made by older men. A flat slip of
322 wood is first hacked out of a piece of eucalyptus into a rectangular shape. It is then whittled down into a thin sword-shaped instrument and given a smooth surface. If the bull roarer is not sufficiently straight to suit the maker, he heats it over a small fire, puts it into the fork of a tree and straightens it by applying pressure.

534 For decorating the bull roarer the wood is first given a covering of the
531 juice from a macerated orchid bulb. Red ocher is then rubbed over the entire surface and a white clay snake design traced down each side. Often human blood is smeared over the snake design as an adhesive for white bush cotton or feathers. Sometimes the entire surface of the bull roarer is covered with feathers or cotton and the snake design traced with blood down each side of the instrument. A long rope of human hair is attached for the purpose of whirling the bull roarer about the user's head.

There are two types of bull roarers.

Type I. Mandel-prindi.—This is a flat, leaf-shaped instrument, slightly convex on both sides, with a hole in the narrower end for the insertion of two strands of hair string. The hair string is eight to ten feet long and is tied at the other end to a cylindrical handle twenty-six inches in length and two inches in diameter. The whole of the blade of the bull roarer is covered with red ocher or human blood, and painted. It also has birds' down on it.

534 The mandelprindi is whirled by the natives during the Gunabibi ceremony and is supposed to be the thunder which is the voice of the Great Snake totem.

Measurements:

Length: three-foot norm; variation six inches.

Width: three inches, widest part; one inch, narrowest part.

Type II. Paddle or Bird Type of Bull Roarer.—This form has the same shape as a paddle with a rounded end. It is slightly larger than the other bull roarer. It is looked upon as entirely different from mandelprindi, and its sound is supposed to be the voice of a bird. A hole is bored in the cylindrical handle to receive the end of the hair string.

Banitja.—These sacred sound-producing objects are long graduated strips of paper bark wrapped with pandanus fiber and covered with red ocher. They are used to beat the ground to warn and frighten women away from the ceremonial ground. They measure three feet by four inches by two inches.

534 *Yermerlindi.*—Two saplings are cut down and tied together. They are
531 padded with grass and tied with fiber string. The front half of the surface thus produced is covered with paper bark and rewrapped with thick fiber string. The surface of the paper bark is covered with human blood and

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765 [532] A foot below the "eyes" a band a half-inch wide is incised around the cylinder to represent the cicatrice on a native man's or woman's body.

The bones of the dead after exhumation are placed inside the coffin, a hole is dug a foot or so in the ground, and the log placed upright in the hole.

764 [531] *Grave Posts.*—A tree is felled and a log of the appropriate length cut from it. The post may be uncarved or a series of incisions may be made at the top of it to give it the appearance of a carved "head" with one or more necks.

The grave posts are placed over the grave of the dead, or they may be erected in the camp of a mourner to express his feeling of sorrow for the loss of his relation.

Measurements:

Length: adult, four to five feet; child, three and one-half feet.

Diameter: three to six inches.

765 [531] *Bark Coffin.*—The inner bark of a stringy-bark tree is soaked with water and heated over a fire, then formed into a cylinder with the inside of the bark turned out. It is stuffed with grass to keep it in shape and prevent it from splitting. The bones are placed in it and its two edges sewn together with pandanus fiber and a bone awl. The whole surface is covered with red ocher and painted with the totemic design of the deceased. The coffin is two feet long and four or five inches in diameter.

778 *Plank Ranga.*—Floating planks brought in on the tide, possibly from New Guinea, are of special totemic significance, and some of them are made into rangas by painting a design on them. The boards of a modern European box are now sometimes used in the same manner.

292 287 *Bark Belts.*—A strip of stringy bark about two inches in width, with a circumference great enough to reach about the body of a man, is soaked in water and held over a fire to make it pliable and to smooth its surface. It is then bent into its permanent shape and tied around the wearer. The ends are tied with fiber string and the belt is held in place by knotting the strings across the abdomen of the wearer. The belts are painted and used in ceremonies.

765 [531] *Mourning Mast.*—The mast is supposed to represent the one used by the Malay in their sailing vessels when they visited southern Arafura waters.

The mast is made from a long eucalyptus sapling and is about fourteen and a half feet high and three inches in diameter. The tree is barked first and then cut to leave a protruding oblong band around the circumference a third of the way from the top. The band is decorated with the totemic designs of the deceased. Fiber strings are tied to the top of the post and represent mast ropes.

796 *Barnumbir Stick.*—A stick about the length of a spear is cut with a diameter of three-quarters of an inch and is sharpened at one end. It is

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wrapped all over with feathered fiber string. Two feathered strings about eight and one-half feet long, tipped with white cockatoo feathers, are attached to the top of the pole. Cockatoo feathers are also put in bunches at regular three-inch intervals along the pole. 796

The sharpened point is put in the ground while the pole is being used during the morning star (Barnumbir) ceremony.

Paintings.—Bark and rock paintings are made by the Murngin. The inner bark of the eucalyptus is cut and straightened just as it would be to make a house, and the smooth side is used for the drawing. A smooth coating of red ocher is first put over the whole of the surface and various designs then placed on it. They range from purely geometrical drawings to extremely naturalistic ones. These bark drawings are used in the Ulmark ceremony. The favorite animal to depict is the snake, either as Yurlunggur or Muit. Kangaroo tracks and emu tracks are also favorites, as well as fish and emus. All of the geometrical designs are given meaning by the natives. There seems to be only one which has a universal meaning—the diamond-shaped pattern that is always associated with the honeybee. A possible explanation of this is that when the men in the Djungguan lie down in a line on their backs to dance honeybee, one man puts his arms up in back of him. The man behind him places his legs across the first man's arms so that the projecting legs and arms of the two men form a diamond-shaped pattern. All the men in the line do the same thing. Of course it is possible that the idea of the design gave the dancers the form of the dance. 532

The rock paintings are found in the rock shelters where the Murngin sometimes stay. One of the favorite paintings is the human hand. This is made by first covering the palm of a man's hand with red ocher and then pressing it against the rock wall with the fingers spread. The painter then fills his mouth with a white or yellow wash and blows it around the hand to form a white outline around the red palm and fingers. Other drawings are of a totemic nature.

APPENDIX III

MORTUARY CEREMONY AMONG THE WESTERN CLANS OF THE DUA MOIETY

The mortuary cycle of songs used among the clans belonging to the Dua side of the moiety division is the garma variety. The cycle is definite and follows a fairly definite sequence, but the leader can make changes in the general order at his own discretion; he would not, however, violate the 764 533

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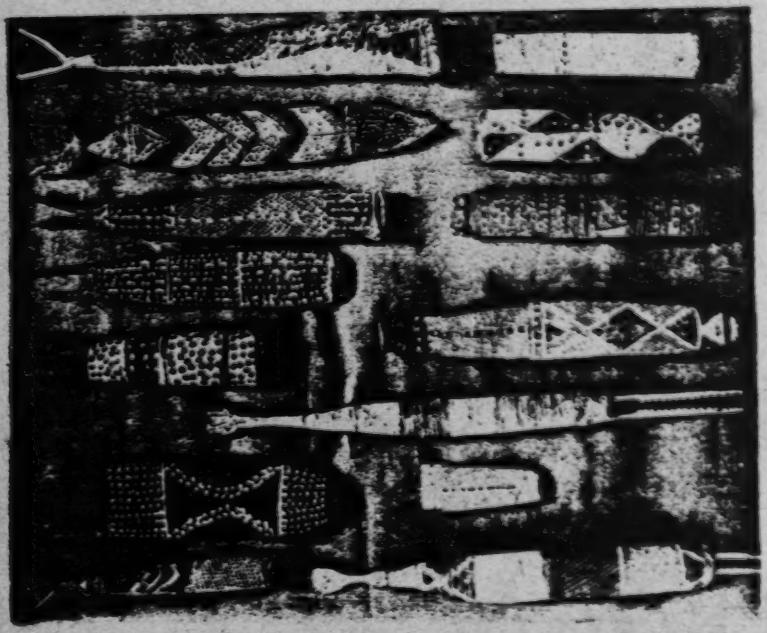

IIIa. Totemic Emblems Used in Naara Ceremony.

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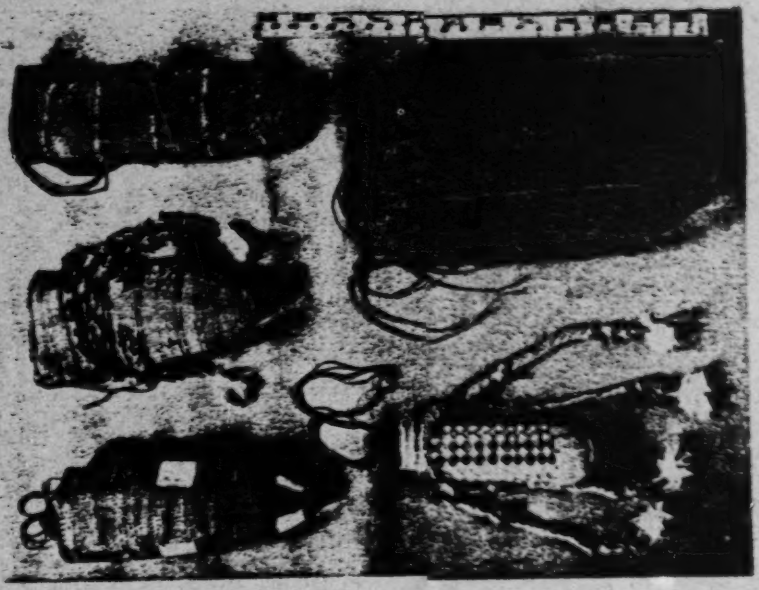

IIIa. Four Men's Baskets;
Woman's Carrying-basket (lower left).

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4: Berndt & Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1948
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SACRED FIGURES OF ANCESTRAL BEINGS OF ARNHEM LAND.

By R. M. Berndt and C. H. Berndt

THIS paper consists of brief notes recording ten carved human figures from Yirrkalla in north-eastern Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia, obtained during recent anthropological field-work (1946-47) in that region. They are part of a unique series of 51 human figures carved by aboriginal men,[1] all of indigenous inspiration and execution. Like sacred and secular ritual objects of a conventionalized type in other parts of aboriginal Australia, they have a very definite place in the social life of the natives.

The figures collected belong to seven groups, and may be divided into secular and sacred objects, as follows:

Sacred:

Group 1. Major Ancestral Beings.
„ 2. Minor Ancestral Beings and Spirits.
„ 3. Secular Figures bearing sacred totemic designs.

Secular:

Group 4. Figures based on Macassan burial posts and representations of Macassans; these are known as *'wurɔmu* or "Collection Men" and are associated especially with certain secular camp ceremonies.
„ 5. 'Baijini, or figures based on pre-Macassan contact—these are related to the *'wurɔmu* (4).
„ 6. 'Ba:du Spirits—being figures of Spirit Men and Women from the Torres Strait Islands.
„ 7. 'Wura:tila:gu or Groote Eylandt Woman's Spirit—which has some bearing on woman's life.

A paper on groups 4 and 5 has been prepared for publication, in which eight *'wurɔmu* and five *'Baijini* figures have been briefly described. In this article we discuss Group 1, which contains the most sacred representatives of the Ancestral Beings of this region, and also Group 2, the Minor Ancestral Beings and Spirits, which play a subsidiary part in sacred ritual, mythology and song cycles.

It is not possible, in such a limited space, to describe in detail the ritual associated with each figure, and its complex background: each sacred representation of a

[1] These are kept in the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, on behalf of the Australian National Research Council, under whose auspices the writers have worked for some years.

4: Berndt & Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1948
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and sacred songs, in trade, in fighting, and among material objects. And some alien strain is observable in their physical make-up. In spite of this, however, they retain the fundamental basis of the aboriginal culture.

Since wood-carving of the type to be described here is not normally found in other parts of Australia, it is probable that the design and manufacture were introduced at some early date from Indonesia. Native informants themselves state definitely that these are of indigenous inspiration; and since most of the human figures represented in Groups 1, 2 and 3 are so intimately connected with the mythology and song-life, and since even the most sacred Ancestral Beings are carved and used in ritual, their statement is difficult to refute. On the other hand, figures of Groups 4, 5 and 6 are more or less definitely associated with alien contact, as are their songs and ceremonies. It is therefore a matter of hypothesis whether the figures of sacred intent were sponsored by the Macassan and *'Baijini*-inspired *'wurʒmu* and dancing objects.

Their Manufacture.

All carvings, secular or sacred, are made by initiated men, working in a special camp. When the figures are required, at the advent of seasonal ceremonies, a craftsman employs at least two men to cut and trim the required posts. When these have been cut to size, and the bark removed, the artist begins to chip skilfully with a knife or " shovel-nosed " blade,[7] until it takes the shape he requires. He works on this for several days, carving in the details and scraping it smooth with a knife blade, rough stone or piece of shark's skin " sand " paper.[8] It is essential that the body should be smooth, since upon its surface the sacred totemic or clan designs are painted.

This done, he smears the whole figure with red ochre as groundwork for the design, and also to signify ritually that it represents a spirit being in human form. But at this stage, the actual figure has no distinct personality—it is simply a piece of wood shaped like a human being. It is after the painting of the pattern upon its body, face and legs that it becomes imbued with personality, and reaches the status of a sacred being: it is then a symbol of some particular Ancestral Being immortalized in song, mythology and ritual.

The totemic painting is the most important part of its whole manufacture, requiring hours of patient attention, the colours being mixed and ground on stones, and applied with a thin human-hair, bamboo-grass-root or pandanus-cone hair brush. When the figure is ready, it goes to a sacred storehouse to await the ritual showing.

[7] The iron bladed " shovel-nosed " spear is common to this region. Iron was introduced by Indonesian visitors, but never in any great quantity, so that stone axes, adzes and knives were freely used until recent years.

[8] This is mounted on a piece of wood, and used in much the same way as emery paper.

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GROUP I

The Sacred Figures and Their Background.

532 616 778 The figures under discussion here belong to both moieties. The *'Wanwolak* Sisters[9] are *'du:a*—the more conservative of the two moieties, while *'Laintfuŋ* and *'Banaitfa* are *'jiritfa*—the moiety that concerns itself to a great extent with introduced beliefs and customs.

776 773 The *'Wanwolak* are two " Dreaming "[10] Sisters, associated with the *'dʒuŋgwon*, *'knnapipi* and *'ŋu:rlmq:k* ceremonies, which are age-grading and seasonal festivals of the *'du:a 'ŋa:ra* (i.e. " shade " or shelter).[11] Their mythology and their song cycle are preoccupied with after-birth blood, with menstruation, and with giant rock pythons, by one of whom they are swallowed. Although they themselves are looked on as Fertility Mothers,[12] they were originally brought into being by the *'Dʒaŋgwol*, the most important of all the Ancestral Beings, who were responsible for the peopling of this coast with the predecessors of the present-day aborigines, and for creating all natural resources. The *'Dʒaŋgwol* Sisters, *'Maralaitf* and *'Pildʒikurərrijn*, and *'Dʒaŋgwol* himself, travelled from the mythical land of *Bʼralku*, bringing with them the sacred *'raŋga* objects used in the sacred rituals, in addition to the ceremonies mentioned above. Unfortunately, although carved figures of the *'Dʒaŋgwol* are occasionally made, none were used during our period of field work, although all their rituals were observed.

773 Briefly then, the two *'Wanwolak* Sisters (one younger than the other) came from *'Mu:rnwol* waterhole, in the " Bush " on the mainland below Milingimbi. The elder sister was pregnant, and eventually gave birth to a child; the after-birth blood was still running as she walked along near this place, accompanied by her sister and carrying the baby. They arrived at a deep well, near which they camped.

A large rock python, living in this well, smelt the blood; he came out and sprayed out water like rain. The elder sister told the other to make a bark hut, and by the time this was erected, it was dark. The snake then made vivid flashes of lightning, but the Sisters were unaware that this was his doing. Then the snake came out of the waterhole and on to the bank, and slowly moved towards the sisters. When the women saw him coming, the younger sister got up, and began to dance to keep him away. When she was tired, she called to her sister, who then began to dance in her turn. But as the snake still came on, the elder sister called out, " Come on, sister. It's no good for me—my blood is coming out, and he can smell it and he's coming closer." So the younger sister danced. When she was tired the elder sister

[114] [9] L. Warner (*op. cit.* p. 248 *et seq.*) has given a description of the mythology and ritual of the " Wawilak " Sisters. The version given in this paper differs slightly from this.

[10] Cf. the concept of the " Eternal Dreamtime." Their reality is in the past, but their spirit is eternal.

[118] [11] Each moiety has a sacred shelter during its ceremonies, adjacent to the dancing ground.

[12] The concept of the Fertility Mother is common in Northern Territory of Australia: *vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, MS. book for publication.

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danced again, and the snake came closer. In fear the two sisters retired to their hut, and the monstrous snake coiled around it and put his head through the opening. He sprayed water over them, so that they became slippery and soft for swallowing; then he proceeded to swallow the baby, the mother and finally the younger sister. 773

This is of course only the main theme; the original version and song cycle is very long and detailed, and instead of the blood from after-birth, it is menstruation blood that attracts the snake.

The *'Wanʊlak* myth and sacred songs are known to both men and women, but the ritual and part of the ceremony is for men only, and is held away from the camp.[13] However, certain associated ceremonies (e.g. the *'dʒuŋgʷɔn*) are performed in the main camp, where conventionalized posts are placed to symbolize the *'Wanʊlak* Sisters, around which women dance. In the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land, as in other parts along the coast, women are acquainted with much of the sacred life, but may not discuss it. It is said that they originally monopolized all sacred ritual and dogma, and relinquished this right only when their ceremonial objects were stolen by the men. There is also an "outside" or secular song-cycle dealing with the ordinary adventures of these two sisters, which is sung in the camp and to which women dance. 773 533 562

But the carved figures illustrated here are used as *'rauŋa* objects, in the same way as the sacred *'maraiin* painted and feathered-string-decorated poles of *'Dʒauŋgʷɔl*. These are kept in a temporary storehouse out near the dancing ground, and shown to fully initiated men.[14] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; outside, the postulants are sitting or standing with faces turned away. The song-man begins to clap his sticks and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object. Finally, when the singing is completed, the designs on the figure are explained and discussed. At times, during the showing of the object, the figure may be held ritually by an actor who writhes on the ground like the python who swallowed the sisters. 196 778 533

What the *'Dʒauŋgʷɔl* is to the *'du:a*, *'Laintʃuŋ*[15] is to the *'jiritʃa*: he is the most important of all the *'jiritʃa* Ancestral Beings, and is highly sacred. He came out of the sea, emerging from the waters like a giant stone from the receding tide, at *'Du:wɔn'miliŋwu*, near Blue Mud Bay. His body bore variegated water-marks (*'ra:y*) that formed patterns. In the figure illustrated, the totemic designs (belonging to a number of *'jiritʃa* clans) painted on its body are water-mark patterns. 776 616 773 532

Now *'Barʊma*,[16] a *'jiritʃa* man, saw *'Laintʃuŋ* for the first time as he stood on the beach, leaning on a sacred *'rauŋa* yam stick, and was surprised to observe these watermarks. 773

[13] This with many details is an enactment of the above myth; i.e. in the *'Dʒuŋgʷɔn* and *'kunapipi*.

[14] Those who have gone through the *'Dʒauŋgʷɔl* rituals.

[15] The name *'Laintʃuŋ* means "white cloud from the sea," signified by the white face in the figure illustrated.

[16] Called also *'Bilmʊlandʒi*, derived from sacred beating sticks (called *'bilma*).

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"I am *'Laintfuŋ*," said the Ancestral Being. "I bring all the *'jiritʃa* dreaming and painting: these will belong to you people, no matter what language and what tribe." Then he gave to *'Barəma* the sacred paintings and the *'rayga*, so that the totemic designs were distributed among the clans.

The two men then ritually called out (i.e. *'bilkaju:n*), so that all the people could come and learn what had happened. When they had all arrived, sacred dancing took place, paintings were drawn and their meanings were explained. *'Laintfuŋ's* voice went to all the *'jiritʃa* clans, and his law became established.

Eventually, he turned himself into a paper-bark tree, and his son *'Banaitʃa*[17] took his place. Now *'Banaitʃa* was a great religious leader, who was able to elaborate on the ritual and dogma laid down in the beginning by *'Laintfuŋ*, his father. He began to teach men, but his disciples became frightened and talked among themselves. "Is this man really connected with *'Laintfuŋ*, as a son, as he says? What have we got to do?" And they climbed trees with their spears, and waiting for an opportunity speared him so that he died. This was in the *'Buərraithi* country at Blue Mud Bay.

But when they had killed him, the murderers realized that *'Banaitʃa* was really a great man, and had had a great deal more to tell them; and they were "sorry." So in memory of him they carved his representation, and also made a paper-bark *'banaitʃa* pad which is beaten on the ground during sacred rituals; and the sound of this is *'Banaitʃa's* voice.[18]

The carved figures of both *'Laintfuŋ* and *'Banaitʃa* are shown to postulants in the same way as are the *'Waməlak* figures; but this *'jiritʃa* ritual is at no time associated with secular ceremonies, or with song-cycles sung in the main camp.

The 'Waməlak Figures.

Plate I, Figure 1. The younger *'Waməlak* sister, who danced to keep away the large python that eventually swallowed the two sisters and the child.

The treatment of this figure's face is peculiar to *'duːa* craftsmen of the old school, and is used only in relation to the *'Waməlak* and *'Dzuŋgwəl*. The carving of the majority of these sacred figures, both *'duːa* and *'jiritʃa* (excluding Figure 6), is distinctive, and differs from the treatment of figures belonging to the other groups. The sacred designs are applied directly to a background of red ochre. The breasts are those of a young girl, while the ridge between them is a cicatrization. Arms are carved solidly to the trunk of the figure, while vulva and buttocks are raised from the background and are not patterned. The whole is painted in red, white, black and yellow. The figure wears around its head a *'bulkəralku* ornament, and on its body a

[17] I.e. a part of the paper-bark tree; also associated with a giant barramundi fish.

[18] The complete ritual, songs and sacred objects associated with *'Laintfuŋ* and *'Banaitʃa* will be discussed at a later date. Representations of *'Laintfuŋ-'Banaitʃa* objects and paper-bark beaters are held at the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, for the Australian National Research Council.

The figure wears around its head a "bulkwalku ornament, and on its body a 'maiga, the red-ochred jungle-string girdle which young girls often wear for decoration and for "strengthening" the breasts. A string pubic apron ('mudpu) is also worn, but more for decoration than for actual covering.

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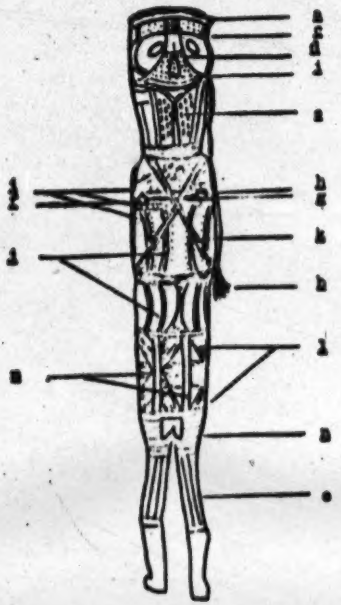

Text-figure A.

The text-figure A, which is a rough sketch of the *'Wanwolak* figure in Plate I, figure 1, is a guide to the meaning of the pattern.

- *a* *'bulkwalku* head ornament, made of jungle-string fibre into which have been woven seagull down and parakeet feathers; the terminating pendant (*b*) is of wild-honey wax and seagull feathers.
- *c* the head-band, called *'marɔpipi*, *'kalamba*, or *'warambalu*.
- *d* *'gu:lgul*, outline of cheek or groove between nose and eye.
- *e* the *'daɣra* flower of the *'du:rilji* gum tree, associated with the *'Wanwolak* in the song cycles.
- *f* small swelling breasts, *'diliyin'wirlkul*.
- *g* breast or chest ridge, *'gumul* or *'kulmɔlki*.
- *h* cicatrization.
- *i* small scars called *'kupu:wu:pu*, or "water painting," from the rain made by the python (see myth).

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j *'kunja:lili* boomerang, which is not used but is simply a pattern; this is the small one associated with the whale.

k the *'mailga* girdle.

l menstruation blood flowing inside the young sister's body; it flows around her navel from the breasts and enters her uterus (*m*), where it is stored, and finally escapes at the menstrual period.

n cuts on the upper thighs or buttocks, signifying the circumcision of her husband.

o menstruation blood running down her legs.

The designs on the back of the figure are similar to those on the front; on the arms are other marks, signifying cuts for her brother's circumcision, and dots which are *'du:ritji* flowers.

773 An addition to the abovementioned myth tells how the younger sister danced forward to meet her older sister after the birth of her child. As soon as the younger entered the hut (branch shelter) in which the mother and child were living, she felt her menstrual pains; the blood was flowing from breasts to navel and thence to her uterus, and then began to flow in the normal way as she sat down. In this case, it is said, the menstrual blood was brought to flow sooner than she had expected, because of the girl's energetic dancing and the movement of her hips and buttocks.

532 778 Artist: *'Mamru:lun*, headman of the *'Ri:rədjiyu 'mutu, 'du:a.*

Full length, 32 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 8 inches; width of shoulders, 4·5 inches; diameter of head, 4 inches.

Plate I, Figure 2. The *'Wamolak* Sister. This well-made figure is similar in design to the younger sister (as above, figure 1), but the pattern is first incised on a red-ochred background and finally painted in black, yellow and white. Arms are standing out from the trunk of the body, and the breasts are elongated to signify "fallen milks," by which term they are known, i.e. full and pendulous breasts.

There is a little variation in the meaning of the designs. Horizontal lines between and above the breasts are cicatrizations, while the cut immediately beneath is said to keep the breasts from falling too far, and to stop the milk in them from flowing back towards the navel and into the uterus and out through the vagina with the after-birth blood. Marks on the shoulders are *'galmakit*, for a brother's circumcision; while dots on the chest are *'kapu:wa:pa* or scars, signifying the rain sent by the python.

The design on the back of the figure, similar to that on the front, represents blood flowing from about the vertebrae above the buttocks to the lower ribs and thence to the navel (surrounding marks signifying flowing blood are *'mimpu*) and to the uterus, and out through the vagina. The latter is painted red, like the blood. This is the blood from after-birth. The belief that the blood flows from the back, is said to have its foundation in menstrual pains in that region, and pains in the same place when giving birth to a child; e.g. the midwife presses and massages the back of a woman at an impending birth, and as the child is born.

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Blood is taken from the vagina and smeared on the *'Wawɔlak's* head-band; this is represented on the back of the head, and by the dots on the forehead. It should also be smeared on the feathered head ornament (as in figure 1), which is missing from this figure. 532 778

Artist: *'Mawwu:lan*, as above.

Full length, 36 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 8 inches; width of shoulders, 5 inches; diameter of head, 4·5 inches.

The 'Laintfuy-'Banaitfa Figures.

Plate 1, Figure 3. This remarkably fine and unusual figure of the Ancestral Being, *'Laintfuy*, is unique in its treatment, remarkably well executed, and of high esthetic value. Along with the *'Wawɔlak* sisters and the *'Banaitfa* (i.e. Figure 4), it is one of the most important carvings, and is a definite revelation of the heights to which aboriginal sacred art can obtain.

Like all these carvings, it loses something in its photographic representation; the natural colours of red, black, white and yellow give to the originals a "life" and movement that is difficult and almost impossible to translate in words or line-drawing. To see these figures in their own environment, invested with their sacred value, surrounded by postulants, amid the chanting of songs, is an experience which is outstanding and important in the life of the observer.

The *'Laintfuy* figure has arms carved out from the main trunk of its body, and shows the usual fundamental colours of white, black, red and yellow. The front of the head to the chin is painted white, while the back is left red-ochred. The top of the head is flat and has human hair, fastened on with blood. At each corner of the mouth are parakeet[10] feathers, bunched together with "sugar-bag" (wild honey) wax and stuck into the wood; this suggests a moustache – the upper lip being bare of hair, with long tufts left at each side between the lips and cheeks.[9] A feathered ornament extending from the chin, and jutting outwards to a point below the shoulders, represents a beard. The first bunch of feathers is from the parakeet, and the second seagull feathers; each is held together by a base of "sugar-bag" wax, while the latter is painted white. Feathers are tied to the end of its beard in ritual, and are called *'rayga:r* (not *'rayga*). The figure wears the red-ochred head band with white ochre and vertical lines, called *'kalamba*, that is used only for dancing. A red-ochred band extends from ear to ear, across the nose; this is the usual facia decoration, called *'ɔnɔbi*, used when dancing in sacred ceremonies. On its left arm the figure wears a parakeet-feathered armband, called *'ju:to*. This figure should also have a *'mindʒalpi* dancing dilly bag strung around its neck; but the original is missing. [302]

[10] From the sacred *'lindwi:lf* bird, whose feathers are in great demand, used for making feathered string objects and in adorning *'rayga*. [237]

[9] Feathers are tied to the tips of a moustache, as a beard, in ceremony.

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778 The body of this figure, both front and back, is painted with the sacred totemic patterns (originally from watermarks) that *'Laintfuy* distributed to the various *'jiritfa* clans. In order to differentiate between these designs, the accompanying rough sketch is provided (text-figure B).

Front of Figure.

a *'Dalwɔyu*, being a freshwater weed design: diamond design red-ochred, edged with white and yellow, the rest white. *'Laintfuy* sent this design to *'Gruwutfu:lilji* at the top of Blue Mud Bay, where it was taken by the *'Dalwɔyu*-speaking group.

b *'Dalwɔyu-'Madarlpa* (joined): black irregular bands, rest yellow and white.

c *'Madarlpa* (as apart from *'Dalwɔyu*). *'Laintfuy* sent this to the *'Madarlpa* people at *Bɔ'raldja*, near Blue Mud Bay; the design is fire or ashes inside seaweed and mud: black irregular bands, the rest white and yellow.

d *'Ri:taryu-'Wɔnguri-'Mayga:lilji* (joined). This design came to *'Druru:lapɔ* near Blue Mud Bay, and symbolized a hollow log under the water. (Same colouring as above.)

e *'Gumaitf:* at same locality near Blue Mud Bay. Red-ochre, and cliff design. (Same colouring as above.)

f *'Gumaitf:* design is bark ready to be stripped, and looking down between the cleavage of the bark from the trunk of the tree. (Same colouring as above.)

g *'Wɔnguri: 'milka*, mangrove worm, coloured white. This is associated with the log design of *d*, which is rotten, being riddled with this worm (*g*).

h *'Ri:taryu-'Wɔnguri* (joined): spring-water running at *'Wu:ru:lmal* (yellow, red and white).

i Continuation of *'Mayga:lilji* design (*d*). (Colouring as *h*.)

j *'Manaitfa:* white dots are honey-bees, and the diamond-shaped designs are the honeycomb (white, edged with yellow).

k *'Gumaitf-'Ri:taryu* at *'Bilmalandji*; white dots are honey bees, and black dots symbolize fire (ashes); the diamond-shaped designs are honeycomb (white, edged with yellow).

l *'Gumaitf-'Ri:taryu* at *'Deiworu:* meaning of design similar to *k* (same colouring as above).

m white, as is the whole face.

n head band; red-ochre, with white vertical stripes.

o red-ochred eyes, black pupil.

p red-ochred facial mark.

q inside of mouth, red-ochred.

r red, yellow, white bands.

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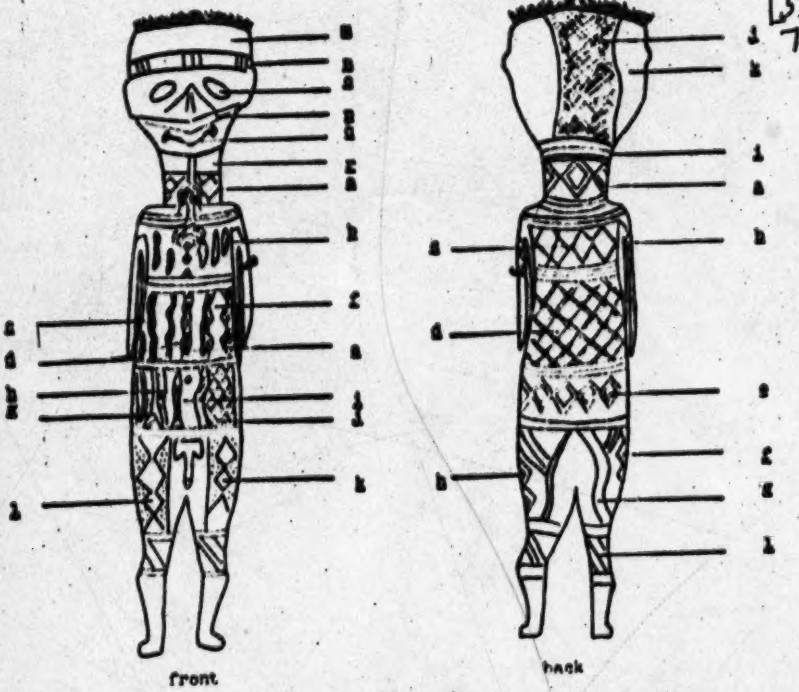
It should be mentioned that originally the *'milha* (*g*) belonged to the *'Maggaːlilji* speaking group; but this big log, *'kadawalk* (see *d*) " said he was in the wrong place: he had become rotten from lying in fresh water." He (i.e. the log) left that place and, travelling under the ground, came out at *'Druruːlaps* at Arnhem Bay (named after *'Druruːlaps* at Blue Mud Bay) with the *'milha* inside; the latter was alive because it came out in salt water. The log (which is used as a sacred object) went



Text-figure B.

on, coming out from the ground at *'Danayalpi* (below *'Druruːlaps*); later it went on to *'Kanbaldyi* (on the mainland opposite Kicho Island), and then on to *'Miːluwo* (near Milingimbi), so that now all these places from Blue Mud Bay to Milingimbi are ritually connected through the *'jiritja* clans.

On the other hand, the *'Madaripa*-speaking people have fire-dreaming; this fire came from burning stringy-bark, which extended through the *'Manaitja* territory where the honey and beeā were (*j*), and on to the *'Gumaitj*; from there to the *'Riːlaryu*, *'Bilhilji*, *'Kuːpapiyu* and *'Waromori*. It was from there that a small bird took a

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113 burning twig and flew with it to the salt water. In reference to designs *h* and *l*, it is said that the honey bee made fire in every direction—so that the bee and honey design joins with the fire.[21]

532 778 *Back of Figure.*

a *'Dalwɔŋu* design; see above: diamond-shaped design red-ochred, edged with white and yellow.

b *'Dalwɔŋu* design on arms.

c " bottom *'Dalwɔŋu*" design: diamond design edged with yellow, filled in with white stripes.

d *'Dalkala*: ordinary honey design; no fire or honey bee: black, yellow, red and white colouring.

e *'Bilkilji*: freshwater long-necked turtle design, which has water-weed under its shell: it is for this reason that it is associated with the *'Dalwɔŋu* (see front of figure design, *a*): diamond designs filled in with red-ochre, edged with yellow and white; rest white.

f on side of thighs: *'Bilkilji-'Ku:ɒɒpiŋu* (joined), as *c*.

g water-marks on body, yellow and white.

h on left side of thigh: *'Deiwɔru-'Bilkilji* (joined), as *c*.

i yellow band edged with white.

j red-ochred.

k white, continuation from front of figure.

l white strokes.

In the painting of this figure the totemic designs of the *'Lamɔmɔri*, actual *'Warɔmɔri*, and *'Makalranalmɔri* were omitted, because the headmen of these groups were absent.

Artists: *'Li:gɔ'ray*, *'Dalwɔŋu*; and *'Mungɔrau*, *'Gumailf*: *'jiritfa 'mata*.

Full length, 36·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 10 inches; length of beard, 6 inches; diameter of head, 5·25 inches; width across shoulders, 5·5 inches.

Plate I, Figure 4. *'Banaitfa*, the son of *'Laintfuŋ*. This is also a remarkable piece of carving, unlike any of the other figures. A massive neck supports a comparatively small head with a contemplative expression, whereas that of the *'Laintfuŋ* is almost enigmatic. Except for the chest design, the figure is completely red-ochred—which makes it more difficult to photograph. Particularly noticeable is the carving of the protruding buttocks and the delicately shaped legs. Arms are well set from the main trunk of the body; elbows, but not hands, are shown.

[21] Long and elaborate myths and songs describe and explain these totemic clan designs that *'Laintfuŋ* distributed. These will be discussed later. Large collections of bark drawings also present and describe the sacred designs, as does a large collection of brown paper drawings, all in the possession of the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, and of the writers.

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The design on the body and at the back, in yellow, red, white and black, symbolises stringy-bark, and is associated with the *'Manaitfa* and the *'Dalwɔyu* speaking people at Blue Mud Bay.

Artists: *'Li:gɔ'ray*, *'Dalwɔyu*; *'Mungɔrani*, *'Gumaitf*, and *'Dʒimba:jun*, *'Mahalranalmɔri*; *'jiritfa'mala*.

Full length, 42·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 12 inches; length of neck, 6·5 inches; diameter of head, 5·5 inches; width across shoulders, 6·5 inches.

Plate I, Figure 5. *'Banaitfa*. This is a well carved figure, but not with the details shown in Figures 3 and 4. Head, neck and shoulders are painted black; the face itself is white to the upper lip; this symbolizes the *'bulumbu:l* or white foam watermark, and the black colouring represents the dark skin colouring of a native, termed *'mɔ:l*. A yellow band attached at each end to thin white bands is the *'kalumbu* head-band. Eyes are fringed with yellow, with a pupil of white. A facial band, drawn on the skin, is represented by white bands around the chin and extending along the jaw around the back of the head. Arms are carved solidly on to the trunk of the figure, and fingers are outlined; the penis is painted yellow, and its apex white, the testes also are white. Legs are red-ochred to the knees, and the rest left plain.

The sketch (text-figure C) describes the designs.

Front of Figure.

- *a* yellow band.
- *b* black.
- *c* white water-mark.
- *d* white facial bands.
- *e* black neck.
- *f* yellow, red and white bands.
- *g* *'Dalwɔyu* pattern; this design is copied from the place where *'Laintfuy* emerged; it symbolizes spring water on the beach: first row of diamond designs is black, the second red, third black, fourth red, other colouring white and yellow.
- *h* *'Dalwɔyu* design: salt water mixing with the fresh water (called "taste together"), i.e. top row of diamond designs is fresh water, the bottom row salt water.
- *i* salt water, divided from fresh spring water (*g*) by *h*. *'Dalwɔyu*.
- *j* as *h*, water running across.

Back of Figure.

- *a* black.
- *b* white band continued from front of face.
- *c* as *g* in front of figure: band of black, red diamond design; black, red, white criss-cross, and black band—the rest white, red and yellow.

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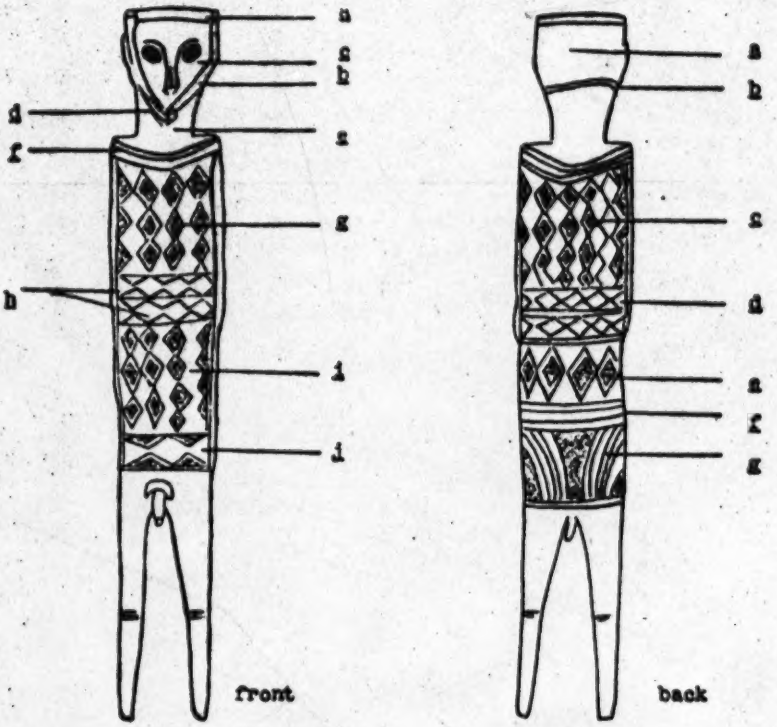
d water flowing across: first row of diamond designs, filled in with red and white, second row filled in with white.
e salt water: diamond design filled in with red.
f white, red and yellow bands.
g sea-weed in red, yellow and white on a background of black.



Text-figure C.

[773] *'Banailfa* was apparently first in the *'Dalwɔŋu*[33] territory, and gave to people of this language group three lots of special totemic paintings, and not just one, as in the case of the other groups. Hence the *'Dalwɔŋu* have a prior right over *'Banailfa* rituals.

Artist: *'Li:gə'ray*, as above.

[33] Seaside "bottom" *'Dalwɔŋu*.

Full length, 33·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 6·25 inches; diameter of head, 5·25 inches; width at shoulders, 4·5 inches.

Plate I, Figure 6. The final figure of this group is a representation of a *'Banaitʃa* female. Very little of these women is mentioned in the sacred mythology, but songs do refer to sisters of *'Banaitʃa*. This figure is in the likeness of *'Laintʃuŋ*'s daughter at a place called *'Gu:lɔldʒi* in the *'Dalwɔŋu* country. Her special name is *'Barama*, while her sacred name is *'Bilwana*. She is also called *'Mundamunda*, from her body markings, representing bubbles rising to the surface of fresh water, and *'Mundalwaltun*, which refers to barramundi scales arising from the water.[23] This woman, unlike her father *'Laintʃuŋ*, always hides in the water and never emerges.

The figure is rather carelessly carved, and the designs are coloured yellow and white on a red-ochred background, in the conventional manner. Both back and front of this figure are patterned in the sacred *'Dalwɔŋu* clan design, representing bubbles arising from the water, and water-weed spreading across the surface of the water. The pupils of the eyes are painted black; while a yellow band across the forehead, with vertical white and red lines, is a headband, and other lines represent facial markings in yellow and white.

Artist: *'Li:ɔgɔ'ray*, as above.

Full length, 29·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 7·25 inches; diameter of head, 5 inches; width across shoulders, 5·5 inches.

Group 2

The Figures and Their Background.

Male and female *'Kultana*, each known by a variety of names,[24] are associated with the *'jiritʃa* conception of the Land of Spirits, to which human beings of this moiety must go after death. The spirits of deceased *'du:a* moiety men and women, irrespective of clan, travel to the fabulous country of *Bɜ'ralku*, the original home of the Great Ancestral Beings, known as the *'Dʒaŋgɜwɔl*, who themselves brought into being the predecessors of the present aborigines.[25] Consistent with their less conservative ideas, the *'jiritʃa* home of the dead is located at *'Ba:du* (or Badu; i.e. Badu Island in the Torres Strait Islands group). It is there, in a land of running spring water, coconut palms, bread fruit, rice and light-skinned people who cut timber and live in stilted houses, that the spirit is said to find eventual repose.

[23] For *'Banaitʃa* is associated with the barramundi fish.

[24] The man is called also *'Ranjiranji*, *'Ŋa:wunba*, *'Ma:ldʒidʒi*, *'Wu:rimila*, *'Li:abalgulk*, *'Gɔ:ɣwaldʒuŋ*, *'Dʒu:pinya:ma*, *'Kauwu:ŋɔ*, *'Dʒalba:ru*, *'Kundʒɔrɔl*, etc., as well as a number of subsidiary names referring to particular incidents in his existence, e.g. *'Da:ga:dʒi:njalwu:l* (looking around for stingray in the mangroves), *'Jiribuma* (scratching himself after being bitten by mosquitoes), *'Dʒi:mɔ:luŋɔ:rɔrɔ* (coming out into the shallow water of a mangrove swamp, looking for stingray), etc., etc. His wife is also known as *'Wuleiwuli*, *'Danbɔramɔ*, *'Munandiliya*, *'Kɔ:ɣwɔ:raiŋun*, *'Lauɔrilauɔri*, *'Mu:rhandʒa*, *'Kɔ:ɣlilji'naŋɔ*, *'Kuruŋgur*, *'Malwuŋgitʃ*, *'Meiwada*, *'Dilmi:a*, *'Mara:waldʒiŋani* and *'Muranditɣɔ*, etc.

[25] *'Dʒaŋgɜwɔl* is associated with the concept of the Fertility Mother, which will be discussed in detail later.

'*Kultana* belongs to the '*Gumaitf'mata* (language) group near Port Bradshaw, but this spirit and his wife seem to have other spheres of influence outside their home territory. For example, '*Kultana* also lives on an island called '*Mɔ:dilya*, north of the Wessells, and lights large fires of grass and " rubbish " to attract spirits of the dead on their way to '*Ba:du*. The male '*Kultana*, when he is not supervising the journeying spirits, hunts for stingray in the shallow waters of the mangrove swamps, and scratches his mosquito bites; while his wife gathers wood, collects jungle-fowl eggs, and generally spends her time in the jungles fringing the beach. There are no actual ceremonies associated with these '*Kultana*, although there is some secular mortuary dancing; but there are both sacred and camp songs related to their adventures and general behaviour.

'*Murɔru:ma* is the " Turtle " Man from Bremer Island (at one time called Melville Island), and is associated with '*du:a* '*Ri:rədziyu* '*mata* secular and sacred life; he, his wives and his sons, '*Dayɔldzi:ɔna* and '*Wuralwural*, are immortalized particularly in an elaborate song cycle sung in the camp, while '*Murɔru:ma* himself plays only a subsidiary part in the sacred songs. However, to the '*Ri:rədziyu* speaking group he is an important being, connected with the principal physical features of their country, which is localized around Yirrkalla. The myth itself deals with his turtle hunting, the murder of his '*jiritfa* '*Wɔnguri* wife (he had other wives, belonging to the '*Lamɔmɔri*, '*Warɔmɔri* and '*Gumaitf* speaking clans), and consequent feuds arising from this killing. His wife was killed because she wished to have nothing to do with her husband, refused his sexual attentions, and wanted to return to her own country. He killed her by inserting his knife in her vagina, and slitting her upwards to the throat. A revenge expedition on the part of the dead wife's family succeeded in killing '*Murɔru:ma* at Melville Bay, on the mainland.

'*Murɔru:ma's* two sons, who were living at Bremer Island, came with their friends to the point of land opposite Bremer, near Yirrkalla; there they saw the spirit of '*Murɔru:ma*, but believing him to be a human being they were glad, as they had not heard of his death. Coming close to him, they saw him disappear; and looking out to sea they saw a big rock which they knew must be his spirit. They spoke among themselves, saying that they would avenge his death. The rest of the myth concerns several killings and other details too numerous to present here.

These carved figures, whether they be the realistic or conventionalized (i.e. as the " post " figure, Plate I, Figure 4) representations, are used as '*rayga* objects, in much the same way as are the sacred ('*maraiin*) painted and feathered-string-decorated poles of '*Dzaygɔwɔl*, '*Laintfuy*, '*Banaitfa*, '*Wanwɔlak* etc. They are kept in a store-house near the ritual dancing ground and shown to initiated men.[36] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut; outside, the postulants sit or stand with averted heads. The song man begins to beat his sticks, and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object. Finally, when the singing is completed, the

[36] Those who have gone through a series of '*maraiin* ceremonies, but may not yet have been admitted to the viewing of certain sacred '*rayga*.

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designs on the figure are explained and discussed. There is no dancing with these, as there is with the figures of the *'Wawəlak-'Laintfuy-'Banaitfa* group.

The Figures.

Plate II, Figure 1. Female *'Kultana*. The body, face and part of the legs are painted in vertical bands of red, black, yellow and white, which represent the rain streaming down her body. She is sitting at *'Dʒu:ltunma:dʒi*, in the bush above Port Bradshaw in *'Gumaitf* country, engaged in sending the cold *'jiritfa* winds. A fringe of "wild coffee" tree bark, stripped and made into fibre, is tied around her head, representing hair. There are no arms to the figure, while breasts and pubes are raised.

Artist: *'Muŋgərani, 'Gumaitf 'mata, 'jiritfa.*

Full length, 36·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 9·5 inches; diameter of head, 7·75 inches; width across shoulders, 6 inches.

Plate II, Figure 2. A male *'Kultana*. The decoration on the body and part of the legs is similar to that in Figure 1, but the face is painted with a head-band in black, white and yellow, and certain facial markings usually worn by this spirit. The vertical bands on his body also represent rain streaming down his body, as he walks through the shallow water spearing stingray. This is the best time to catch these fish, which come into the shallows along the coast when they hear the rain falling on the surface of the water. This *'Kultana* is at *'Jalkjalkdun* on the beach near Port Bradshaw in *'Gumaitf* country.

Artist: *'Muŋgərani* (as above).

Full length, 33·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 10·25 inches; diameter of head, 4 inches; width across shoulders, 5 inches.

Plate II, Figure 3. *'Murərru:ma*, the Bremer Island "Turtle" Man.—The predominant colouring of the face is white and red, while the front of the body design is incised and painted in black, yellow, white and red: head-band and facial markings are drawn on the figure.

On the left-hand section of the design is *'Murərru:ma's* canoe (yellow, white and black), between black and yellow bands representing reefs. On the top right-hand side are rocks, near the mainland point opposite Bremer Island, while below are two "Moon" fish (*'manala*), one with yellow and white stripes and the other with black and white stripes; the black band on the side is another reef.

Below this design is a male green-backed turtle (white, red and black), with waves at each side (white, black and red bands). The top of the head is painted white to represent seagull excreta.

On the back of the figure's head are clouds (horizontal lines in yellow, red, black and white), while in the middle of two rows of vertically placed horizontal bars is a sacred "dilly-bag," called *'waraitfwaraitf*. On the back, the middle section is incised and painted with two green-backed turtles—the top one a male, facing a female (both in yellow, black and white), and dragging seaweed (radiating horizontal

4: Berndt & Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1948
OI17 Murngin OI17

bands, in red, white, black and yellow). Vertical bands across the shoulders are waves; at one side of the turtles is a row of *'nunda:ka* limpet shells, and on the opposite side a row of *'girəwitfi*, common beach shells (cockles), in yellow, white, black and red.

Artist: *'Mauwu:lan*, *'Ri:rədʒiyu 'mala*, *'du:a*, helped by *'Bunuygu*, *'Gumaitʃ mata*, *'jiritʃa*.

Full length, 27 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 8 inches; diameter of head, 5 inches; width across shoulders, 5 inches.

Plate II, *Figure* 4. *'Murərumma*, as a post, without realistically carved legs. The whole figure is incised and brilliantly painted in red, yellow, black and white. He wears a head-band representing clouds, and also has facial markings. Around his neck he wears his sacred *'waraitfwaraitf*, "dilly bag," while the main design on the body represents clouds and rain. At the back of the head, clouds and rain are again drawn, while white clouds are on the shoulders and below (this is an intricately worked pattern in red, white, yellow and black); long vertical bands, plainly painted in red and yellow, are two spears associated with the Thunder Man (*'Bərtyu*), who is connected with the Bremer Island song cycle and mythology.

Artists: *'Mauwu:lan* and *'Bunuygu* (as above).

Full length, 31 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 7·25 inches; diameter of head, 3·5 inches; width across shoulders, 3·5 inches.

This paper records only certain sacred figures of major and minor ancestral beings, and makes available, as soon as possible after their discovery, some information on these north-eastern Arnhem Land human figures. No attempt is made to treat in detail their religious or secular significance, their abundant mythology and varied song cycles, or their importance to the individuals themselves. A full and comprehensive account of their significance requires a major work.

RONALD M. BERNDT.
CATHERINE H. BERNDT.

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4: Berndt & Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1948
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SACRED FIGURES OF ANCESTRAL BEINGS OF ARNHEM LAND. PLATE I

1. *The younger 'Wauwolah sister.* 2. *The elder 'Wauwolah sister.* 3. *'Laintfug.* 4. *'Banaitfa, of the massive neck.* 5. *'Banaitfa, with the white foam water-marked face.* 6. *Sister of 'Banaitfa.*

Cp. 326 A)

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SACRED FIGURES OF ANCESTRAL BEINGS OF ARNHEM LAND. PLATE II

1. *Female 'Kullana, with fibre hair.* 2. *Male 'Kullana.* 3. *'Murrumma, the Bremer Island "Turtle" Man.*
4. *'Murrumma post figure.*

[cp. 326 B]

4: Berndt & Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1948
OII7 Murngin OII7

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 582 611 616 617

All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. 616 617 (See page 16.)

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance. 614 621 778

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the vast majority of cases consist of— 532 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men. 614 778

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity. 796 867 [784]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

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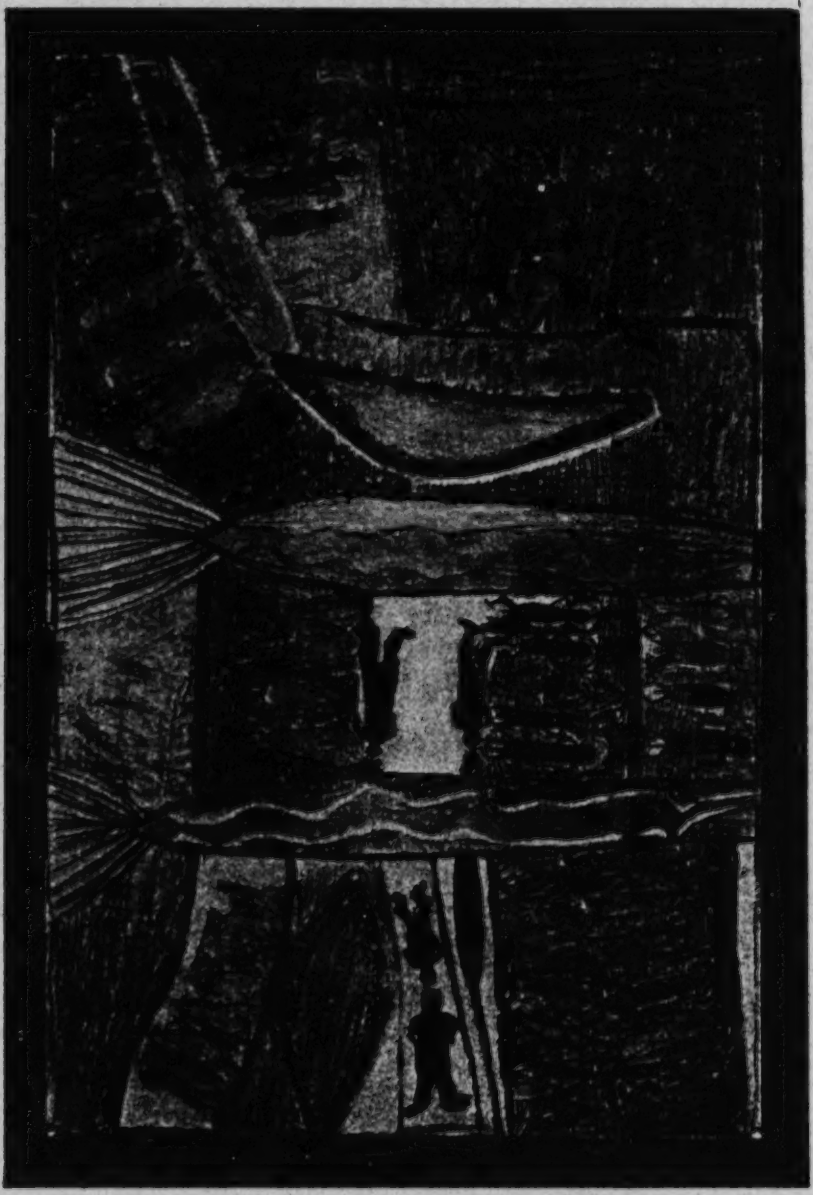

PLATE I

[Facing p. iii]

[For caption see category 116, p. X]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

773 Yeramalindji (Yalmanindji), a blackened mass, still in its original shape, lying in the Nanggoru.

796 One special feature of this "Mother Place" was that on each of the 171 walls of both the Kanalina (the oval billabong) and the Nanggoru (the semi-circular trench or "river"), the rainbow serpent, here [532] called Muit, was engraved. Apart from what informants said, there [346] was no mistaking the drawing. The walls were of hard clay and about 2 feet and a little more in depth.

Finally, the "Mother" ritual has spread north from the Lower Victoria River as far as Port Keats, where in 1944 the elders were assimilating the doctrine of the "Old Woman" (exoterically), but the desirable mother (esoterically), and the bullrourer with snake symbolism.*

The Appeal of the Kunapipi

A cult which spreads throughout a vast region as indicated in the 771 above outline, and spreads irresistibly, must satisfy a spiritual or psychological need and make a captivating appeal. There is no mis- 796 taking the grip which the doctrine of the "Mother" and the Snake has on the initiated, or their fervour and faith. But, why does the cult appeal and grip in this way?

Let us outline its significant features. It highlights the maternal, nourishing, reproductive, and indeed creative, principle in nature and man, though not denying the male principle. That is, it associates the cycle of the tropical seasons, and the increase of human beings and of natural species with the concept of Mother—of birth from the womb. [831] Further, it correlates this with sexual activity in which the male or inseminating principle is involved. In the former aspect, we have the Mother, symbolized by the ceremonial "Mother Place", and in particular by the earth womb, the *nanggoru*, for, indeed, she is the earth. In the latter case we see the symbolism of the Great Snake: the Rainbow Snake, and the Yermalindji.

Further, in the ritual, the male actors simulate sex intercourse, 796 which symbolizes both the impregnation or else the quickening of 786 the Mother herself, and also the intercourse of the animals represented in the rite. It is done for her and through her for them and all nature. Finally, the actual sexual intercourse between the actors and selected women near the ceremonial ground, as part of the total ritual, not only witnesses to the indispensable rôle of women in reproduction, but also makes the "Mother's" life-producing principle or power operative. Just as in arid Australia, the actors cause blood from their arm vein or genital organ to flow on to the symbolic representation of the totem or totemic ancestor, giving it or [789] him power to increase its kind; so too in Arnhem Land the actors'

* Mr. F. Parkes, a member of the Air Force, gained the confidence of these men, and recorded all he could.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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778 Before turning to our main study, we may mention briefly the
532 presence of material emblems and symbols in religious life. This north-eastern culture, far more than those to the south and south-west, pays great attention to the outward expression of religious and esoteric ideology, both as a guide to ritual behaviour, and as a means of impressing certain concepts on the minds of neophytes. In addition to copies of the *rangga* introduced by Djanggawul, Luintjung and others, there are many beautifully made *rangga*[4] relating to various totemic objects and natural species, as well as to human organs and ancestral people, used constantly as "high" *rangga* in the *naru* rituals. They are often stylized, made from various hard woods, cane or paperbark, bound with jungle-libre twine, painted with clan totemic designs, and ornamented with coloured feathered strings. There are also human figures, carved from blocks of wood, and decorated in the same way. In the Wauwalak ceremonies many other sacred, *marelin*, objects are used: the *uwar* drum of the *nguːrlmak*, the *jelmalandji* "posts" and forked stick *djepalmandji* of the *kunapipi*, the *julunggul* trumpets and dancing posts of the *djunggawon*. There are also bark paintings, with sacred totemic clan designs, used on the ceremonial ground, or with copies of chest drawings.

All these, for the aborigine, are concrete expressions of his
771 religious concepts; they prepare his mind to accept the essence of
778 sacred dogma, and to grasp its significance. As symbols, they keep
182 alive for him the reality of traditional belief. Faith is essential for
177 social cohesion, giving meaning and sanction to behaviour patterns and institutions; its presence has been far more apparent in Aboriginal societies throughout Australia than in contemporary European groups. The majority of these aborigines, before contact, believed implicitly in the essential goodness of their own way of life; all was explained, each member of the community had a definite place in the scheme of things, and the future was well determined. To-day, how-
177 ever, the native on the fringe of European culture finds that social
182 conditions are changing, his accepted beliefs have been sharply
771 questioned, and an alien ideology is being more intensively enforced. His ceremonies are performed less frequently, his great song cycles sung less fervently, and his sacred objects and paraphernalia are gradually losing their meaning and function. The cohesive and integrating qualities of his religion and mythology are weakened, and finally destroyed. The balance of his own cultural structure, with all its apparent weaknesses and inconsistencies, is upset by intensive external pressure and "civilizing" influences. No longer is the pattern of his life determined by a traditional code. Instead, he discovers himself to be relying more and more constantly on alien beliefs and ideas; but owing to the suddenness of the change, and his inability

4. *Vide* A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1950, illustrated.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

and this symbolized menstruation blood. The latter is translated colloquially in this region as "spring blood", a menstruating woman being known, in translation, as a "spring woman". [841]

There the two women sat, the younger menstruating, and the older with an intermittent flow of afterbirth blood.[8] It was at this time that Julunggul smelt the blood, emerged from the well to swallow the Sisters, and made rain. [844]

When the Wauwalak saw the rain clouds gathering, the elder sister said: "Well, young sister, you had better run down and get some paperbark so that we can finish this *murlk*".

"No, sister", replied the other. "I have the same as you (that is, blood flowing); it is a very happy time, for this is my first menstruation. It's not like you, sister, you know about it because you have had it before, but this is my first time. I'm not going to go from this hut. I'm going to look after your daughter, while you yourself go out for bark. You know, if I go it might run all over the place. I can dig a hole in the middle of the *murlk* and let my blood flow into it, then no one can see it."

"All right", agreed the older sister. She went out and collected more stringy-bark, and at the same time obtained yams and animals for food, as in the above version. She was able to collect these easily, for she had a good hunting dog called *Djirawa* (the name meaning, "a black cloud during dry weather time"). She returned to the camp with the food and bark.

They made fire and began to cook this food, but it all "flew" away in turn to the sacred well. The younger sister asked the other, "You know why all these animals have run away?"

"I don't know", was the answer. "There might be something in this place (that is, something sacred). Something might come along to our camp." It was at about this time that the Snake, who had been watching them, sent out lightning. . . .

The sequence of events int his version has been changed, but the final section conforms to the first story.

The next version is illustrated by a detailed drawing (see Plate VI and "key" text figure 1) depicted in red, yellow, blue, green and black crayon on brown paper,[9] a substitute for stringy bark, the normal medium, by two Ri:radjingu men named Mauwulan and Wondjuk (father and son), the former being the headman for the Wauwalak cycle. 773 532

8. Said by aborigines to continue for about two days after child-birth.
9. Reference: No. 105, Feb. 4th, 1947, Book 18, Series A, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

[p. 28]

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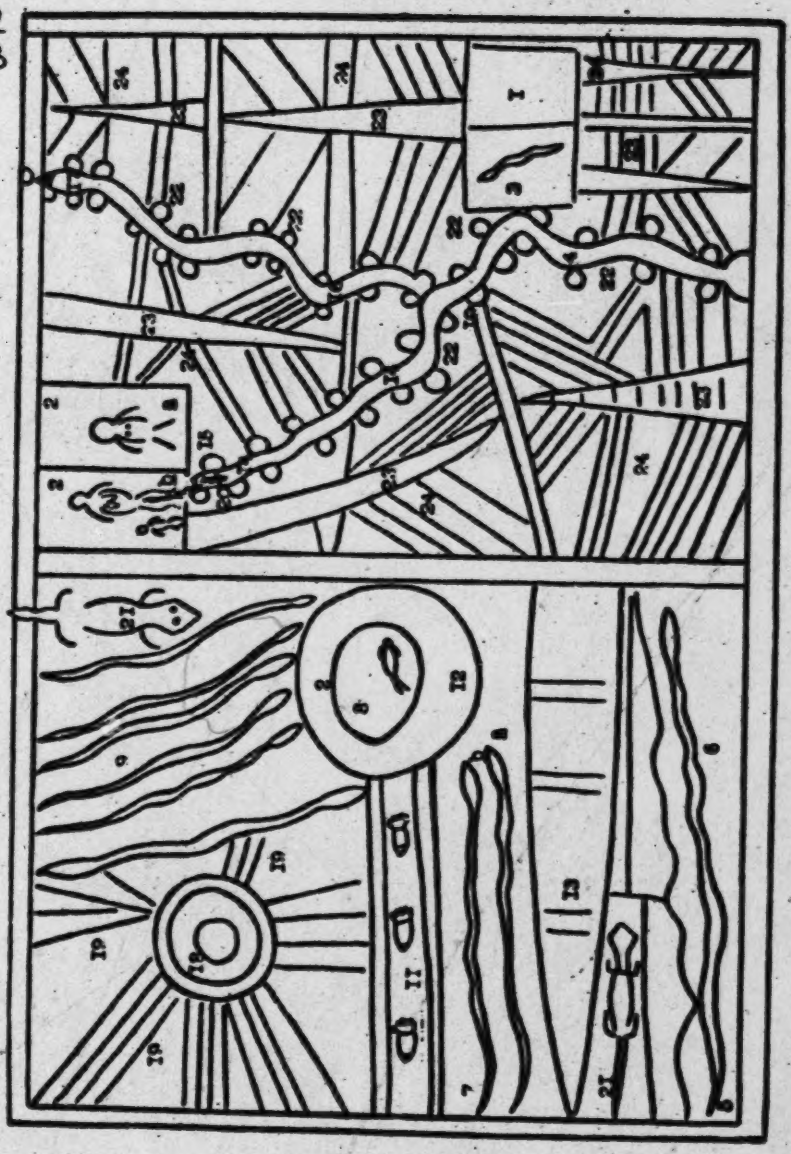

TEXT FIGURE 1.

Sketch-Key to Plate IV depicting part of the W'anwalak Myth.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OII7 Murngin OII7

1 is the billabong or sacred well, Muruwul, also called Mernaninju, Mainbunu:ru and Tamalanungomi. In its waters is the Julunggul watching the Wauwalak (2); *a* the young sister, *b* the elder sister and child. 3 is another Lightning Snake (python), who smells the blood at 1 (Muruwul) and goes back to 4; then it comes round to 5.

6 is the female Julunggul, while 7 shows the male (*a*) and female (*b*) Snakes who are "after" the Wauwalak. (Here, an important variation occurs: two Julunggul, a male and a female, are said to be "after" the Wauwalak, whereas in the first version the male Python is said to play only a subsidiary part, and the female is the one who takes the initiative.)

The Two Sisters (2) hear the noise made by the Snakes. They leave the elder sister's child in their camp, *murlk* (8), and begin to dance, circling around, trying to stop the Julungguls' progress; 12 represents their dancing.

The drawing then returns to an earlier scene. All the food they have caught has "made itself bird", and flown away to the sacred well (1). The younger sister asks the older, "Look, what are we going to have now? All our food has flown away". They look back towards 9, and see all the young snakes coming in their direction (the Sisters are now at 8): they had thought this camp was free from snakes, but now they are everywhere.

Then they see the two big Julunggul (7 *a* and *b*) circling around, and it begins to rain, for the female snake has made rain at Muruwul (1). And while the older sister goes out for stringy bark to make their *murlk* weatherproof, the Julunggul sneaks through the rain; the younger sister has remained to look after the child.

Now while the other sister is out gathering bark, at 10, she goes over to the billabong for drinking water; as she drinks, her afterbirth blood falls into the water and is carried down to where the Julunggul live. It is from this that the Snakes smell the blood, and emerge. (The sequence of events is slightly confused, and should apparently conform to the first version.) The sister returns along a road (11) which shows her footprints. The two complete the hut (8) and enter it; now it is growing dark, and they sleep.

While the Sisters and child sleep, the Julunggul sends a "signal": that is, lightning from Muruwul. The younger sister feels this: she awakens and looks through the doorway. She sees the vivid flashes of lightning and is frightened: returning to her sister, she says: "You wake up, sister, there's something coming along, they can smell us".

Then they both dance around, 12, as women do now in the main camp, in order to keep away the Julunggul. When they can dance no longer, they return to their hut. In the meantime the two Julunggul (7) have been sneaking towards the women; the other snakes (9) "only take *mala* for the big Julunggul" (that is, they belong to the

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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532 773 Julunggul clan of snakes, but do not take part in the actual swallowing).

At last the Julunggul reach the *murlk*: the female snake puts her head into the aperture and swallows the elder sister and child (2 *a*), and then the male snake puts in his head and swallows the young sister (2 *b*).

When they have completed the swallowing, both stand erect with their heads away up in the sky; they try to "straighten" themselves up, resting on their bellies. All the younger snakes (9) are "very surprised because of the swallowing". It is probably these younger snakes with whom they hold the conversation mentioned in the first version.

They try to erect themselves still further into the sky ("like big rainbows"), but fall down because they have been eating the Wauwalak and the child. They fall over to 13, which shows the mark from their fall, in the shape of the sacred dancing ground. They try to stand up again, but "they are too happy, and talk" and fall over.

Then the Julunggul return along a track, 4, to Muruwul (1), where they live for a time. Later, they "walk" down this track, which is edged with stones;[10] they clear the track, casting the rocks (22) aside; they reach 15. There they vomit the Wauwalak (2). First the male snake vomits the young sister, then the female snake the older sister and her daughter. After this the Julunggul return along the track, 14, to 16, and rest at 17 (the head of the Julunggul).

At 18 is a *gundir* anthill, containing *ngaːti*[11] (white ant) termites (19: the drawing representing streams of ants), which come around to 15, and bite the Wauwalak and child. As soon as these are bitten, they awaken and become alive again.

The Julunggul look over to 15 from 17, and see that the Wauwalak are moving about. They return down 16 to 14 and reach 15, where again they swallow the Sisters and child, but do not vomit them a second time.[12]

The Julunggul go back to Muruwul (1) and continue living in its waters; they are still there to-day. Muruwul is surrounded by *gulwiri* "cabbage" palms; some stand at the water's edge, and some have their roots deep down in the waterhole itself so that only the top trunk and branches appear (23). 24 shows "spring water" running in all directions, from the rains caused by the Julunggul. The track marks of the Snakes (leading to 15), and the place at which they fell (13), are still to be seen. 20 shows the elder Wauwalak's afterbirth blood being washed down the Snakes' track (14) after the

10. Like the specially designed tracks of Julunggul, used in the *djunggurun*, *kunapipi* and *ngaːrlmak* rituals.

11. In some versions these are described as "meat" ants.

[136] 12. Pythons still do this to-day; they eat something, swallow it, spew it up, lick it, and eat it again; this time they retain it.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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rain towards the billabong (1). 21 depicts a *gungalung* (big-headed gecko lizard), playing around the Muruwul billabong after the rain; for these lizards always come out at the beginning of the rainy season, "and follow up the Julunggul".

This is a remarkable drawing of one aspect of sacred mythology in this region; it belongs to a large series dealing with all aspects of religious doctrine in north-eastern Arnhem Land.

This version tells us something of what happened to the Wauwalak after their swallowing. The first version also deals briefly with this aspect, as follows:

After the swallowing, the female Julunggul returned to Muruwul; there she vomited the Wauwalak and child, who were revivified by the bites of the ants, but were eventually re-swallowed. The Wauwalak spirits are still at the sacred well: "we can't see them, although they can see us, for now they belong to Julunggul". When they see human beings coming to this site, the Julunggul swallows them again in their spirit form, "for they are unable to walk about like ordinary people".

The Wauwalak-Julunggul mythology serves to substantiate the Kunapipi rituals: a co-ordinating thread links the various events set out in the story, and these are symbolically expressed in the ceremonies. This myth is distributed among the three rituals already mentioned, the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngu:rlmak*; the *ma:ndiwala* (the *marndiella* ceremony of Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 329–334), localized around the Roper and Rose Rivers, has not yet reached north-east Arnhem Land. Each of them expresses a particular feature of the myth.

The Kunapipi, adapted as it is to local traditional needs, has lost none of its symbolism and intent. In conventional Kunapipi mythology one of the principal themes is the Fertility Mother's pregnancy, and her giving birth to "Dreaming" folk: these people she kept in her womb, and "let them out" from time to time to perform sacred ritual. Finally, there is her death, and the totemites' enactment of the returning to and leaving the Mother's womb. The continual birth and rebirth of the totemites symbolize the sequence of the seasons, for Kunapipi had the power to send out the spirits of all the natural species. She was accompanied by the Rainbow Snake, her male counterpart.

At Yirrkalla, the Fertility Mothers are the Wauwalak: the peculiarly female characteristics of menstruation and afterbirth blood accentuate the concept of procreation. The presence of the Pythons (the male and female Snakes), their ejaculation of saliva (semen), their entry into the *murlk*, and the swallowing, complete the theme. The actual swallowing, said to mean coitus, may also symbolize the "return of the Wauwalak to the uterus of their Mother", as in con-

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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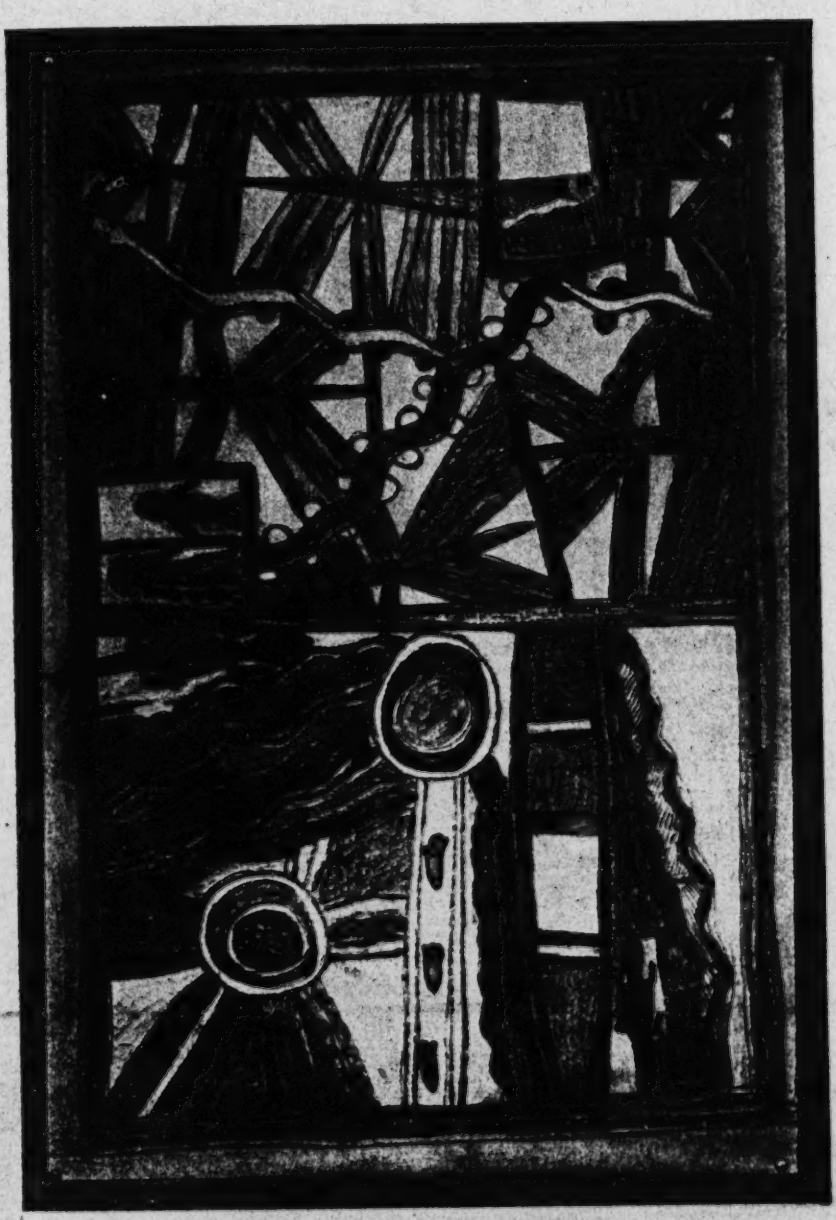

PLATE IV

[Facing p. 32]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

796 see the young initiates coming out of the bushes, emerging from the uterus, all covered with red-ochre that symbolizes "the spring blood 881 of the Wauwalak". And the men call out to the women saying, "See 778 those young men covered with the saliva of that Snake"; "but really," and the women are not officially supposed to know this, "they are covered with the spring blood". The women begin to call out, and return dancing to the main camp.

The *djepalmandji* are knocked down, and the young boys are taken to the men's camp. That night, "outside" Kunapipi songs are sung, and the men dance around the boys. Then with the men leading, and the initiates following, they all dance off in single file to the sacred ground.

Here the initiates' headbands are removed, and returned to the Kunapipi leader for use in the next rituals. After some sacred singing, all the men, together with the young boys, paint themselves [302] completely with red-ochre; at the same time, in the main camp, all the other men, women and children, whether *dua* or *jiritja*, do likewise. On everyone's back is outlined the Julunggul Snake, "so that [532] you can't see it". (The snake design is merged with the general red-ochring, so that only a bare outline is visible.) This design is sometimes extended across the chest or breasts, from left to right, to join the main snake pattern on the back; "in the beginning those Wauwalak did this, because of that big Julunggul". This painting is termed the "baptizing" (that is, ceremonial purification), and all are brushed with smoking ironwood branches which have been held in the fire.

The men return from the sacred ground to the main camp, and sitting in groups begin to sing the "outside" Kunapipi, while the women dance in the same way as they did during the first rituals. The young initiates return that evening to the single men's camp. The purification ceremony and singing may be held on succeeding evenings for about a week to a fortnight, when it is felt that sufficient precautions have been taken to prevent sickness.

This concludes the Yirrkalla Kunapipi ritual.

* * * *

773 Although we shall return in succeeding chapters to the ritual and 796 interpretation of the Kunapipi, it may be as well, at this juncture, to 794 survey briefly the foregoing material. It is apparent that Kunapipi ritual has been closely related to the Wauwalak mythology; this [805] expresses symbolically the aborigines' conception of an "eternal" sequence of the seasons, and the reproductive faculties of Nature, of which man is an incidental but dominating feature. This fundamental [776] belief is crystallized in a Fertility Mother (the Wauwalak as a transmutation of the Djanggawul) who embodies this concept, while the male representative of fructification also is present.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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CHAPTER V

KUNAPIPI RITUAL IN DRAWING

In order to understand more fully certain parts of the Kunapipi ritual that have been already outlined, a series of interpretative drawings was obtained from aborigines. Each of these depicts in conventionalized form some aspects of the Kunapipi, and includes some points which the artist considered to be of major importance in understanding the function of the rituals. The six drawings illustrated and described here cover the main points of the Kunapipi ceremony.

Ceremonial elders and headmen at Yirrkalla delegated a middle-aged man, named Gumuk,[1] a Kunapipi leader, to prepare the following series of drawings on Kunapipi ritual. It is not the practice of these people to record their ceremonies in this way; normally, to demonstrate or expound some particular point, they would enact the ceremony instead of drawing it; neither would they attempt to draw such incidents on stringy-bark, the usual medium for expressing sacred or secular design and representation. The medium employed in these drawings was entirely foreign to the artist, who is accustomed to working in ochres with hair or root brushes, on a bark board; but, in this case, sheets of brown paper and coloured lumber crayons were adopted for convenience. It was not long before the native artists had adjusted themselves to this method of expression, and produced what we may term masterpieces, equal to the best of the bark-drawing which is their traditional form of art.[2]

Their value as artistic representations of this particular culture is incidental here to their value as documents illustrating the Kunapipi rituals. Through them we may see with a native's eyes what the people as a group, through the individual artist, consider important in this respect.

Photographs of ritual and ceremony record accurately specific incidents divorced to some extent from the whole; they are in themselves impersonal. But drawings of the same or similar incidents, by

1. *Vide* Chapter VI, where some of his dreams are discussed.
2. Collections of both bark and brown paper drawings are at present housed in the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, for the Australian National Research Council.
   For discussion of bark painting, see *Art in Arnhem Land*, by A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, pp. 61-83

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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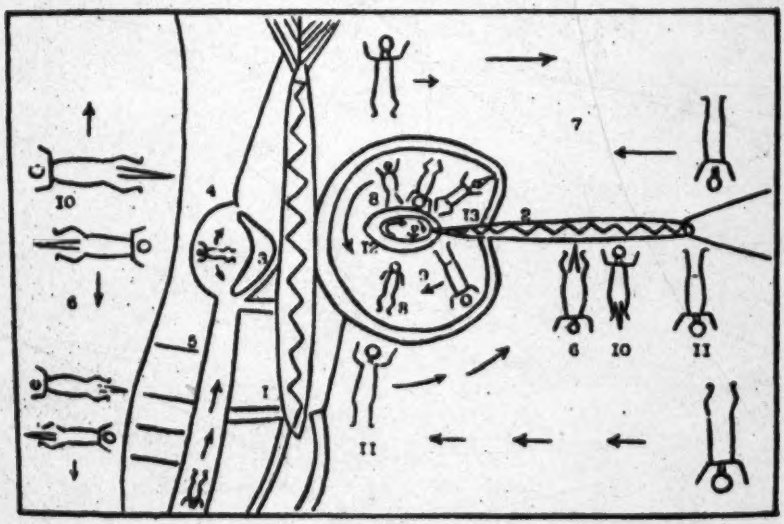
532 796 aborigines belonging to the culture from which the ritual has sprung or in which it finds expression, reveal a depth of feeling and understanding which cannot be reconstructed through any other medium. Photographs, with all their accurate detail, cannot record the ritual with the same wealth of meaning as that contained in a native's drawing of this kind: and their anthropological value must not be underestimated. Observational recording through photography is valuable and necessary, but it lacks the ability of indigenous drawing to make its subject matter personal, vivid and sympathetic.

To describe in some detail each drawing illustrated here, rough sketches have been reproduced; the main outline of each corresponds to the original, so that the numbered sections may readily be traced in sequence, from text to rough sketch and so to reproduction of the original drawing illustrated. This was considered preferable to numbering the various parts of the original drawings.



Text Figure 2.

Key Sketch to Illustrate Plate XI.

Postulants and novices in a ritual performance on the sacred Kunapipi ground.

532 796 881 The first drawing,[3] illustrated in Plate XI and text figure 2, in red, black, green, blue and yellow crayon, white chalk and pencil, presents postulants and novices in a ritual performance on the sacred Kunapipi ground. 1 is the *durlpa* snake *jelmalandji* emblem, which is sometimes said to be both the Julunggul python and the pandanus tree; 2 is the *gundaru* Lighting Snake *jelmalandji*, which is the

3. Reference: No. 1, Series B, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series A, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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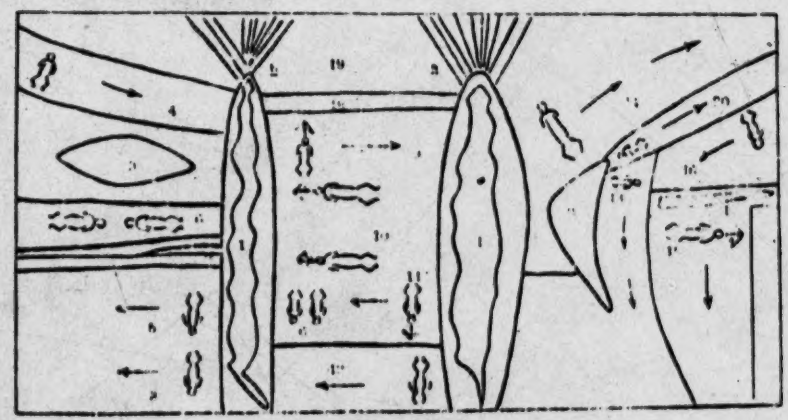
Julunggul; both are topped with feathered ornaments. The *gundaru jelmalandji* arises from the *nanggaru* place (9), while the *darlpa jelmalandji* arises some little distance away, between the *nanggaru* and the *kanala* (3): in actual practice, both would stand together beside either the *nanggaru* or the *kanala*. On the concave side of the *kanala* (3) are ranged *jiritja* moiety *wari* novices (4) for the Kunapipi, while along the track leading to the *kanala* are *muru dua* moiety novices (5): they do not yet enter the crescent trench.

Parallel to the *kanala*, and to one side of the *nanggaru*, are *dua* dancing postulants (6) representing opossums. This is the important Kunapipi opossum dancing; men with long paperbark penes (10) attached to their waist-bands, or constructed upon their own penes, are male opossums; the others are the females (11). In the dancing they simulate sexual intercourse, erecting their bark penes, and so on.

On the opposite side of the *nanggaru* are *jiritja* moiety *keiango:r* men (7) who watch the erecting of the *jelmalandji*. This is the group that prepared these emblems for the *dua* moiety (6).

Within the *nanggaru* (9), the opossum actors (6) are seen dancing, having gradually moved up along the sacred ground and entered the "billabong" (12). Then they emerge from the *nanggaru* and encircle it (8); they begin to cover it in with their dancing feet, destroying it completely. One dancing opossum actor (13) wears a conical-shaped head-dress topped with feathers, as should all the other participants.

The second drawing,[4] Plate I and text figure 3, in red, blue,



Text Figure 3.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate I.

Opossum dancing on the sacred ground, with destruction of the Snake Emblems.

4. Reference: No. 109, *Field Notes*, Book 18, Series A, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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532 881 796 yellow, black and green crayon, concerns the final opossum dancing, and the destroying of the *jelmalandji* emblems.

One *jelmalandji* (1 *a*) is the *gundaru*, and the other (1 *b*) the *daripa*, each topped with feathers. The non-sacred term for the *gundaru jelmalandji* is *nungganambi*, and for the *daripa jelmalandji*, *murungun* or *dalara*, both of which may be used before women and children in the main camp: to use the term *jelmalandji* in a secular environment would bring sickness on the speaker. To the right of the *gundaru* is the *kanala* (2) crescent trench; to the left of the *daripa* is the *nanggaru*, (3), and on one side of this a row of *wari jiritja* novices (4) make their appearance, wearing *marapipi* headbands: they watch two actors (6) on the opposite side of the *nanggaru*, performing the *dua* moiety *gundaru* snake dance (of the male and female Julunggul Snakes). While the two actors dance, the *jiritja* bullroarer (7) is swung behind them; below it are the *muru dua* novices (5); and below these, in a line, are the "big" men (8) who act as guardians to the novices, and take them to the Kunapipi dancing. These guardians are very strict, and may beat the novices in their charge should they misbehave.

[292] Between the two *jelmalandji* is a row of dancing postulants (9), representing the *gulwiri* "cabbage" or "wild coconut" palm, which swayed in the running waters at Muruwul (*vide* Chapter III). The actors wear elaborate head-dresses that symbolize this tree, and later they dance towards the *murlk* hut (19) of the two Wauwaluk sisters. Opposite this row of dancers is another row (11), also representing the *gulwiri* palm. Between them (10) lie two other *gulwiri* dancers performing a ritual dance: they enter the ground kneeling, and lie upon one another "like the roots and trunks of these trees", entwined and rubbing together with the force of the running water. These two central actors, as well as the others, are watched by the *wari* and *muru* novices, who have been brought up to take another position facing the dancing ground. Two novices (6) are beside the *gulwiri* actors (11), while the others are ranged in a row below (12).

Above the track leading to the *kanala* (2) and on its concave side are ranged *muru* and *wari* novices (13), taking their positions for viewing the final opossum dancing and the *jelmalandji*. To one side (14) are their guardians; the novices (16) below the *kanala* track are standing with their hands tucked under their arms.

On the concave side of the *kanala*, beyond the novices (13), is a row of dancing men performing the *gunga* pandanus dance, with head-dresses similar to those used in the *gulwiri*. When this is completed, other neophytes begin to dance down the *kanala* track (20): they are opossums, and this track is also called the "opossum track".

The *jelmalandji* are pushed and fall over across the *kanala*; but they are caught with the stick (18), and impelled back, so that they

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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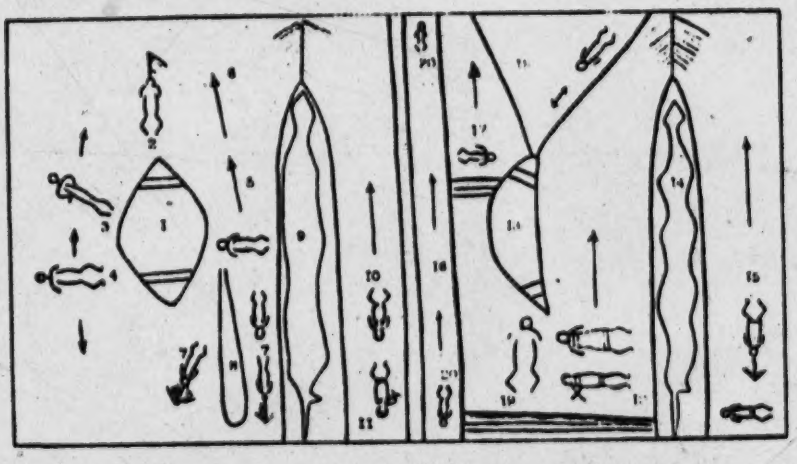
stand upright. This enacts the part of the myth relating how the Julunggul fall backwards because they have swallowed the Wauwalak (*vide* Chapter III): each time they fall, the postulants cry out. "The Wauwalak make them fall, but they are strong and erect themselves again." Finally, however, they fall back into the *kanala*. This is not yet the final ceremony, so the *jelmalandji* are taken by two *jiritja* men and hidden for use in subsequent ritual. Normally, the pushing over of the *jelmalandji* should be followed by the fire-throwing ritual and their subsequent burning: after this the opossum dancers (20) should dance around the *kanala*, filling it in with the action of their feet, destroying the encircling mound, and thus covering the *jelmalandji*.

As the neophytes and novices leave the *kanala* the bullroarer (17) is swung, with answering calls from the main camp.

The third drawing,[5] Plate XII and text figure 4, in red, yellow, green, blue, black and white crayon, repeats some of the above and continues the ceremony to its final stage; but some essential ritual is omitted here (such as ceremonial coitus, which is dealt with separately).



Text Figure 4.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XII.
Sacred dancing on the Kunapipi ground.

On the left of the drawing is the *nanggaru* (1): above (2), is the *dua mo:goi* Ka'lerika'lering (*vide* Chapter IV *et seq.*) wearing a

5. Reference: No. 134, *Field-Notes*, Book 19, Series B, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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conical head-dress, called *watamunu* or *dutji*, topped with feathers. He is dancing for the spirits of the Wauwalak who have been swallowed by Julunggul. Although the artist has projected this mythological Being on to the sacred ground, this represents really a *dua* neophyte taking the part of this Spirit in the Kunapipi dancing. On one side of this actor are two men (3) who are also Ka'lerika'lering; one has a boomerang, and both shake green branches as they dance.

Below the Ka'lerika'lering, on one side of the *nanggaru*, are the *warl* novices (4); while the *muru* novices (5) are on the opposite side. Above them are the *kakawar jiritja* postulants (6); these are older youths and men, visiting strangers from various clans, who have not yet seen the Kunapipi and are being admitted as "advanced novices".

On one side of the *darlpa* (or *dalura*) *jelmalandji* (9), are men (7) performing the pandanus dance, which is shown for the first time to the *warl*, *muru* and *kakawar*. As they dance, the bullroarer (8) is swung.

The *kakawar* (6) now move over to the opposite side of the *jelmalandji* (9) and form a row (10) under the direction of a headman (11), who rhythmically beats his sticks. The row of men move anticlockwise, in a form of dancing called *wokwaljin*, around the *kanalu* (13); the same men, with their leader (12), are again seen on the concave side of the *kanalu*, before their entry into the crescent trench.

Opposite the *kanala* is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (14), with a row of men (15) performing the "cabbage" palm dancing. On the convex side of the *kanala* are the novices (17) observing the ritual dancing, while opossum men (18) dance down the track leading to the *kanala*, in order to encircle it and cover it up. Below the *kanala* is a postulant (19) performing the final dance on the sacred ground, before leaving for the fringe of the main camp. He represents the Blue-tongued Lizard (*djamalingu* or *gumaling*), and dances by himself.

The artist then depicts, in the centre of his drawing, a row of novices (4, 5, and 6) who are under the "shade" or branches of the *djepalmandji* (16); at each end, in the forked sticks, sit the *jiritja* guardians (20) calling out. This takes place on the fringe of the main camp, away from the sacred ground, and shows the novices getting ready just before the women arrive.

The fourth drawing,[6] Plate XVII and text figure 5, in green, red, black, thick pencil sketches of human figures, on a yellow back-

6. Reference: No. 2, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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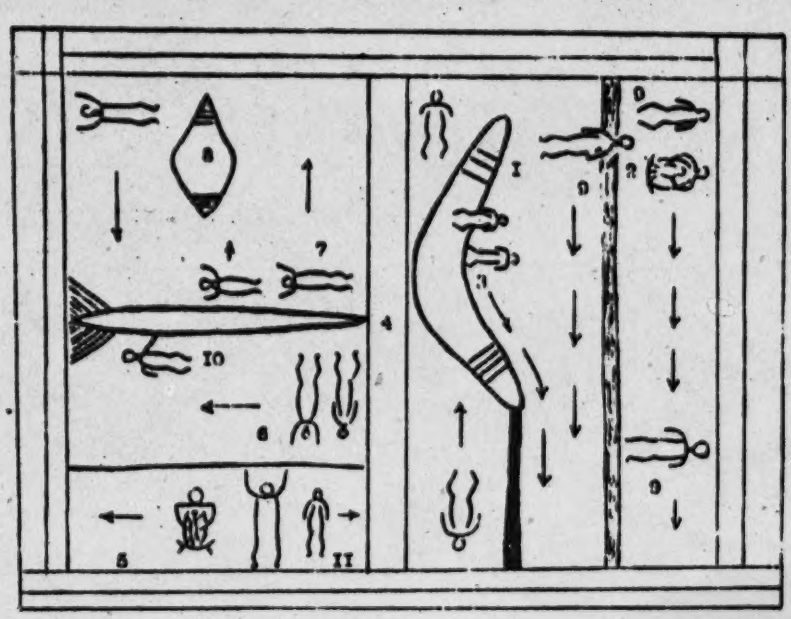
ground, is principally concerned with ceremonial intercourse, an integral part of the Kunapipi, taking place on the sacred ground. 532 796 881



Text Figure 5.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XVII.
Ceremonial intercourse on the sacred ground.

On the right hand side of this drawing is the *jilparindji* or *kalawal* boomerang (1); it occupies the place of the *kanala* in the drawing and is drawn in much the same way. (This particular aspect requires further attention, but cannot be elaborated here.) It is this boomerang (usually designed a little differently, with a groove at the centre) which is used in ritual defloration on the Kunapipi ground, before ceremonial coitus. That is to say, young girls have their hymens pierced prior to intercourse on the ceremonial ground; others, whose hymens have already been broken through normal premarital coitus, have the end of the boomerang placed symbolically in the vagina. In the Rose River region, this form of defloration is a counterpart of the subincision rite, and neither takes place in the north-eastern part of Arnhem Land. In the long *jiritja* Rose River Love Song cycle, known at Yirrkalla, defloration and ritual copula- 532 796 881 833 [304] [836] [171]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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tion are discussed in detail: this aspect will, however, be dealt with later.[7]

Here we are concerned principally with sexual intercourse on the sacred ground, and defloration is incidental; but it does have an important bearing on Kunapipi mythology. (*Vide* Chapter X, Song 45, when it is mentioned that the Mungamunga were "opened" for coitus; the ritual in the Rose River Kunapipi commemorates this mythological event, while other examples could be taken from Yirrkalla mythology to substantiate this rite of defloration.)

On the far right hand side of the drawing are male *gurung* having coitus with their normally tabu-ed female *mukul* (*vide* Chapter IV), as Kunapipi sexual partners (2), while other men (9) await their turn. It is these men who first "open up" the young girls with the boomerang, and then copulate with them. This rite is termed the *nukanmiri*. The drawing of the man and woman performing the sexual act is executed in the stylized traditional manner, so that the two figures merge (2): the man bends forward, grasping his partner at the back so that his arms pass under hers, while the woman clasps him with hands gripped at his back. She is lying on the ground with legs apart, her thighs resting on his hips, and her feet are crossed at his back; *vide* Chapter IV. footnote 14.

Ranged along and around the boomerang (1) are the brothers (3) of the girls and women with whom the men are copulating; they stand with their backs turned. They do not look at their sisters having coitus, in case they should be "shamed" (a manifestation of the deep-rooted local tabu between brother and sister). Instead, they sing while this is taking place, and do not themselves have ceremonial intercourse; their turn comes when the next Kunapipi is performed.

A focal point on the left hand side of the drawing is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (4), held by one man (10), while below it is a row of men (6) who are actual or classificatory husbands to the women having coitus on the opposite section (that is, 2). These husbands (like those at 9) await their turn with women (5) who are the "wives" (actual or otherwise) of the men on the opposite side (9); these women are already having coitus (5), and beside them (11) other men are waiting. Around the *nanggaru* (8) are men (7) dancing the opossum dance: they are the fathers (actual or classificatory) of both groups of women (at 5 and 2).

The fifth drawing,[8] Plate XIII and text figure 6, in black, red, green, blue, yellow and pencil, shows the sacred ground, with its essential emblems and plan: women are awaiting ceremonial intercourse,

7. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*. In Chapter IV it was mentioned that only married women attended the Kunapipi ritual of ceremonial copulation; this was a Yirrkalla variant.
8. Reference: No. 3, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, Series B, R. Berndt.

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while there is no mention of defloration (which, as we have said, is not a feature of every Kunapipi).

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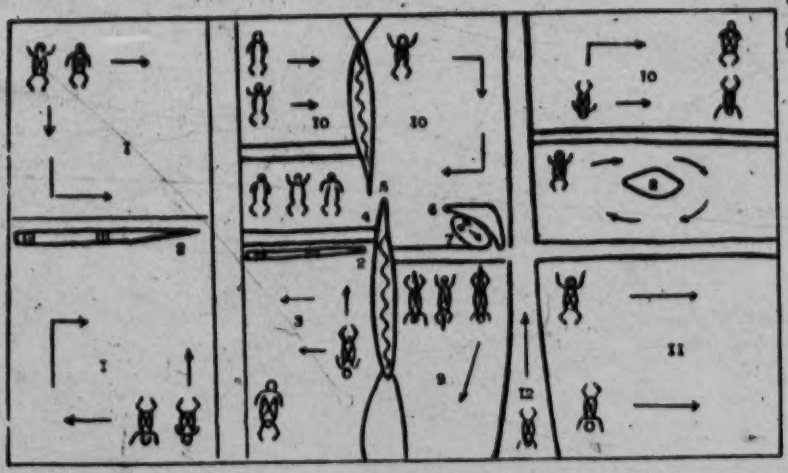

Text Figure 6.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIII.

Men dancing on the sacred ground, with women awaiting ceremonial intercourse.

On the left hand side of the drawing, ranged on either side, are men dancing (1); in the middle is the stick (2) used for pushing back the *jelmalandji* when they fall. They belong to both the *jiritja* and the *dua* moieties, and have blood smeared over their bodies; this symbolises the afterbirth and menstruation blood of the Wauwalak sisters.

In the central panel, to one side of the *darlpa jelmalandji* (4), are *dua* women (3), decorated like the men with fibre string crossed over their chest and body. They are awaiting ceremonial coitus and represent female opossums; they wear *diridiri* pubic aprons. On the opposite side are their Kunapipi sexual partners (9), representing male opossums, wearing long penes of paperbark.

Above is the *gundaru jelmalandji* (5), surrounded by dancing men (10) smeared with blood. In the corner is the *kanala* (6), with *muru* and *wari* novices (7) lying covered with sheets of paper-bark on the concave side. The sacred dancing and the *jelmalandji* have not yet been revealed to them.

On the right hand side is the *nanggaru* (8) with the same men (10) dancing around it, while below are others, also dancing (11). Along the track (12) leading to the *kanala* (6) are opossum men, dancing to surround the novices (7).

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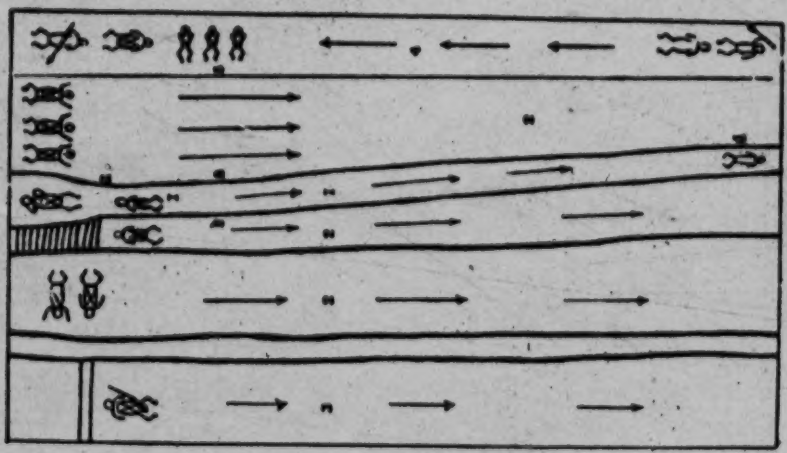
The sixth and final drawing,[9] Plate XIV and text figure 7, in black, green, yellow, red, and blue, represents the last stage of the Kunapipi.



Text Figure 7.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate XIV.
The last stage of the Kunapipi.

Across the centre of the drawing (1) is the *djepalmandji*, with its two rails (1 *a* and *b*) supported at either end on forked sticks (1 *c* and *d*). In each forked stick sits a *jiritja* man, repeatedly calling out. Under the boughs and branches strewn over the rails are the *wari* and *muru*.

Below the *djepalmandji* is a row of *jiritja* and *dua* dancing men (2); they move around the *djepalmandji*. On either side of the *djepalmandji* are other men (2) dancing. Further below, a row of men (3) wearing opossum-fur pubic coverings, and carrying spears, dances on to the *djepalmandji* ground. Above, a row of men (4) leads some novices (5) towards the forked stick "shade". The ground is now arranged ready for the entry of the women, who are called by the two *jiritja* men sitting in the forks of the *djepalmandji*.

[171] These drawings, then, reveal concisely the main features of the Kunapipi ceremonies. They show striking similarity to a collection of Kunapipi (Kalwadi) drawings obtained in the central-western part of the Northern Territory.

9. Reference: No. 4, Series B, *Field-Notes*, Book 28, R. Berndt.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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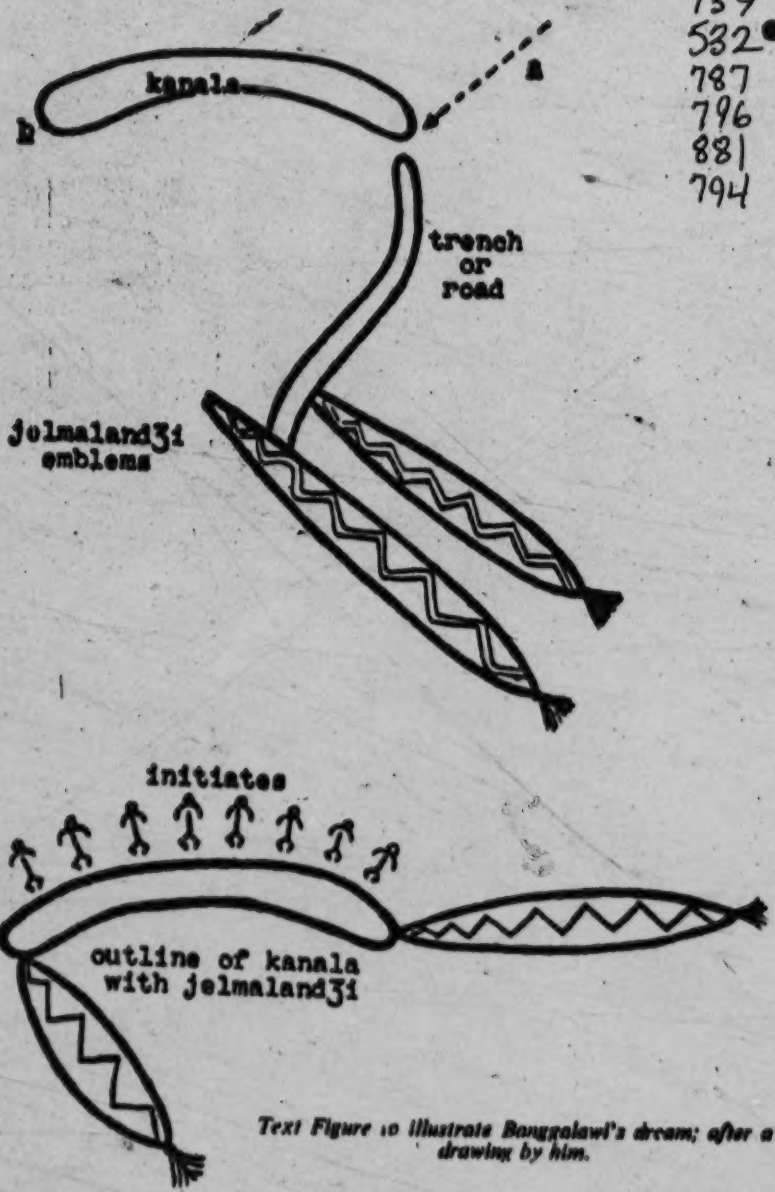

Text Figure 10 illustrate Bangalawi's dream; after a drawing by him.

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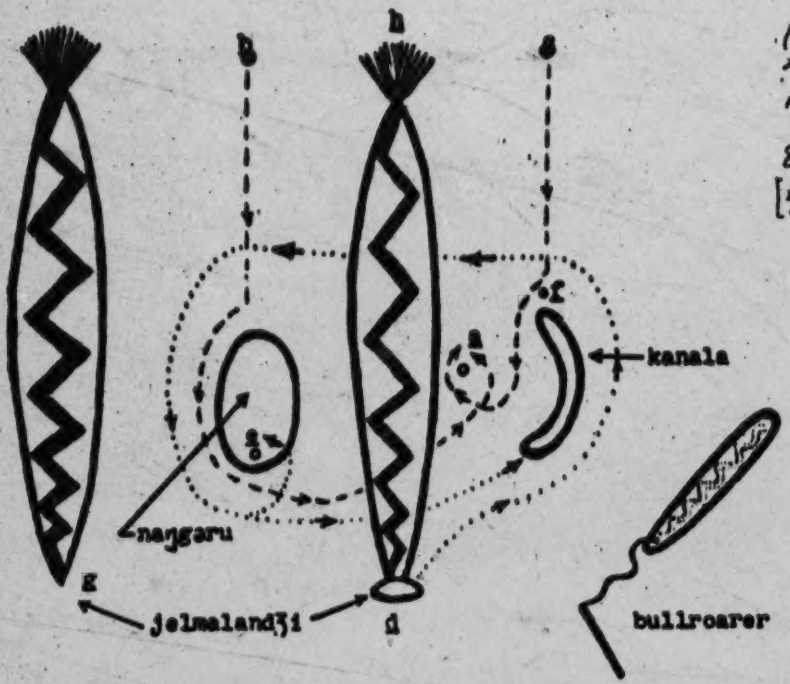

Text Figure 9 to illustrate a dream by Gumuk: after a drawing by him.

"I was dreaming Kunapipi side. I was standing (at *a*, in text figure 9 illustrated here) in the sacred ground, calling out; twice I called out. When I had finished, a lot of men and young boys (that is, initiates) came down the ground. They came in two lines (*b* and *c*), both being *ngulkaru* (that is, 'strangers' or Kunapipi visitors), and among the men were the *wari* (*jiritja* initiates). One lot (*b*) came down and around the *nanggaru* billabong, while the other lot (*c*) moved down past the *kanala* 'river' (that is, uterus trench) and surrounded me (at *a*). The *wari* went down to *d* below the *jelmalandji*, and were covered up by the old men ('the people who look after the sacred grounds'). You see the *jelmalandji* in my drawing (that is text figure 9), well, that is Julunggul swallowing the young boys; you see it rising up above them. In my dream the *jelmalandji* is 'alive' like that big Snake.

"Over by the *nanggaru* (at *e*) was standing Djuwalji (a *jiritja* Gumaitj *mata* man). And as the people surrounded me (at *a*), I walked over (to *f*) and stood there on one end of the *kanala* mound. From there I sang out for all that lot below the *jelmalandji* (at *d*); they moved forward (out of Julunggul) and encircled the *kanala* and

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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who were *kakawar* (that is, visiting strangers to the Kunapipi ceremonies).

"I came along with the *kakawar* through the bush, calling out at

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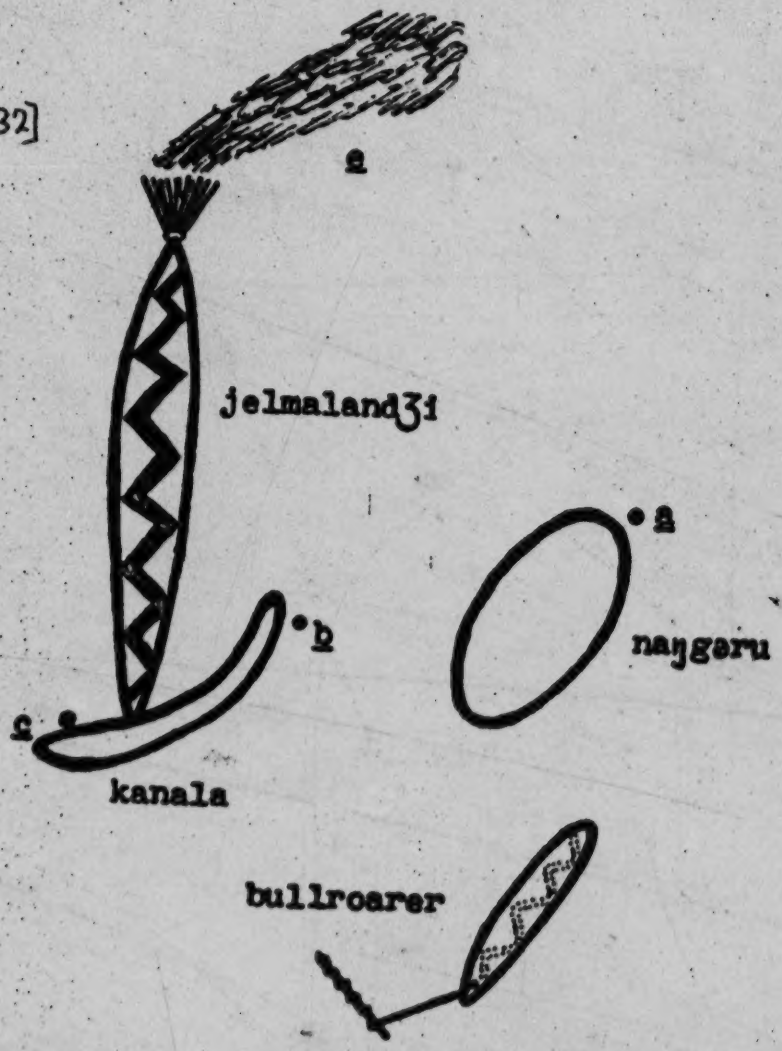

Text Figure 10 *to illustrate Gumuk's second dream: after a drawing by him*

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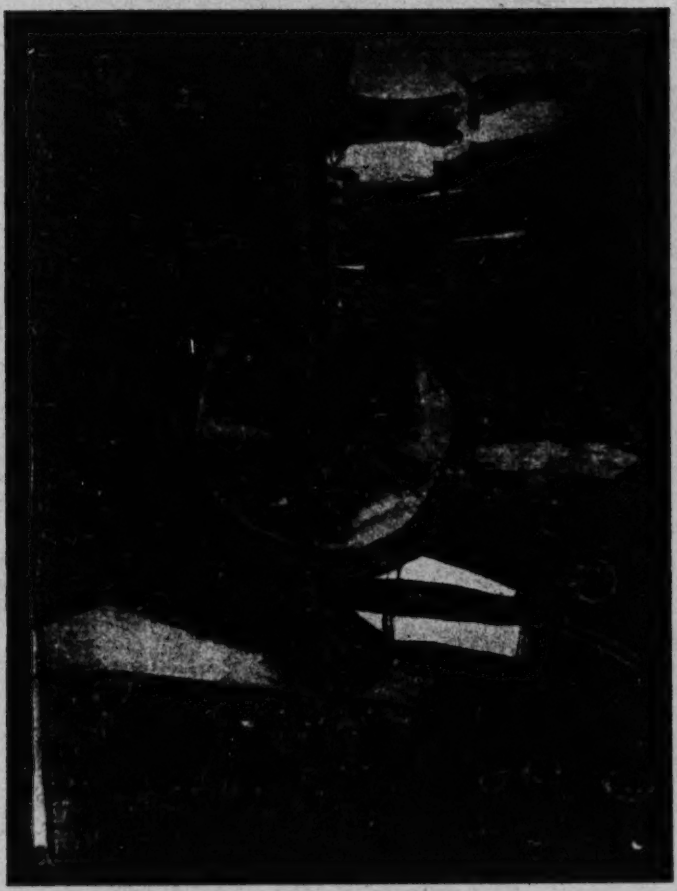

PLATE XI

[p. 84(B)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 62-63.—Analyst]

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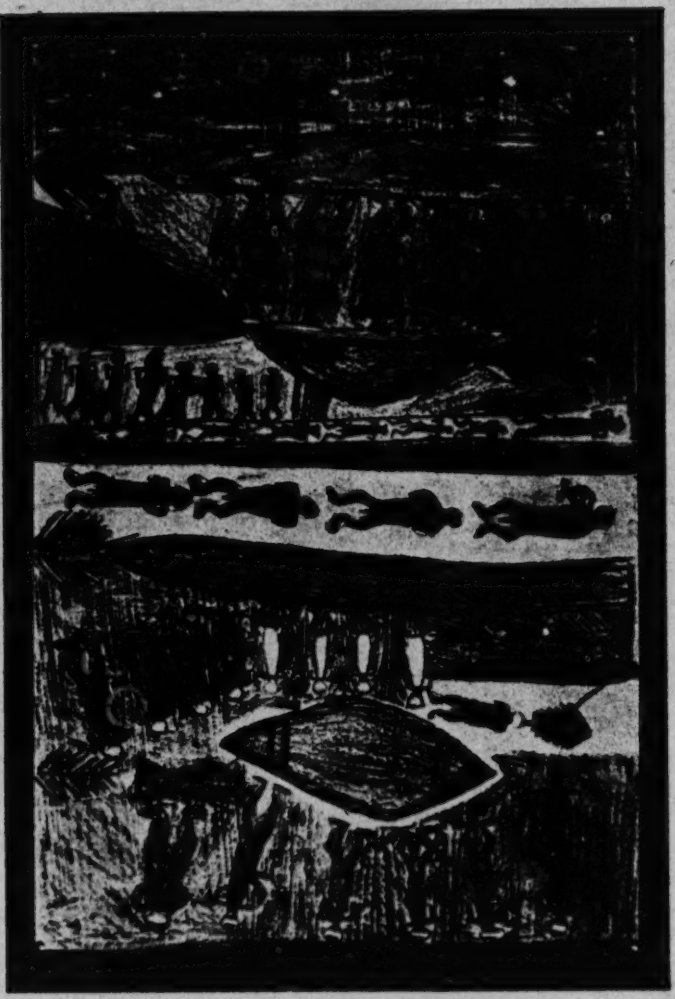

PLATE XII

[p. 84(c)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 65-66.—Analyst]

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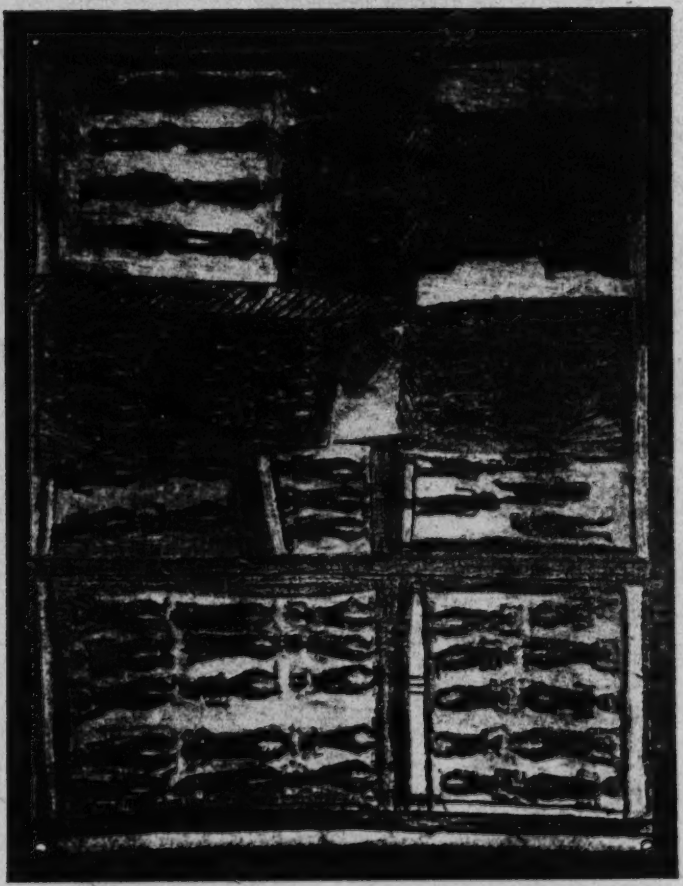

PLATE XIII

[p. 84(D)]

[For an analysis of the above plate see category 116, pp. 68-69.-Analyst]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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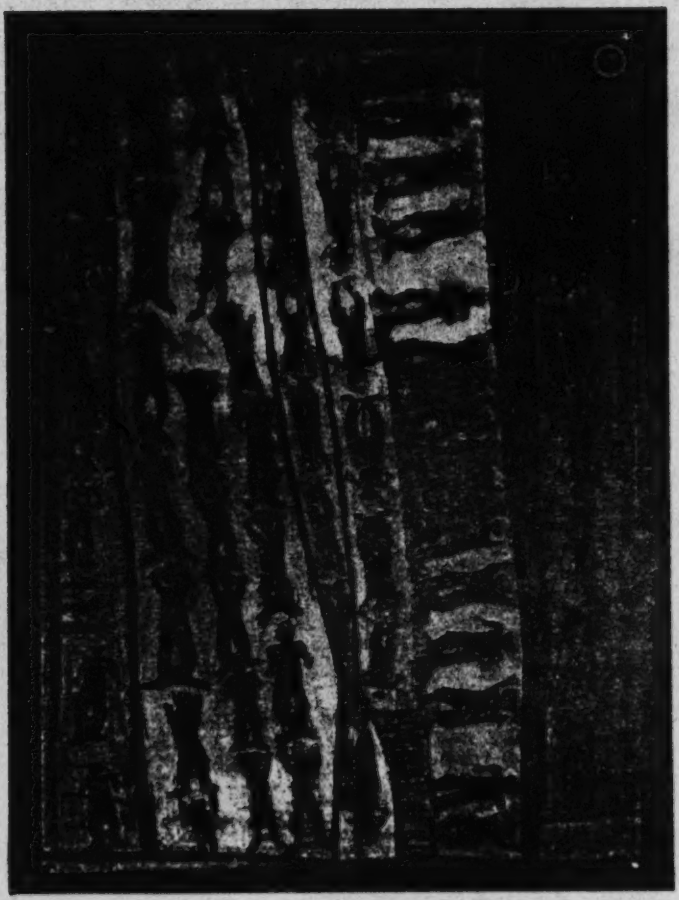

PLATE XIV

[p. 84(E)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, p. 70. — Analyst]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

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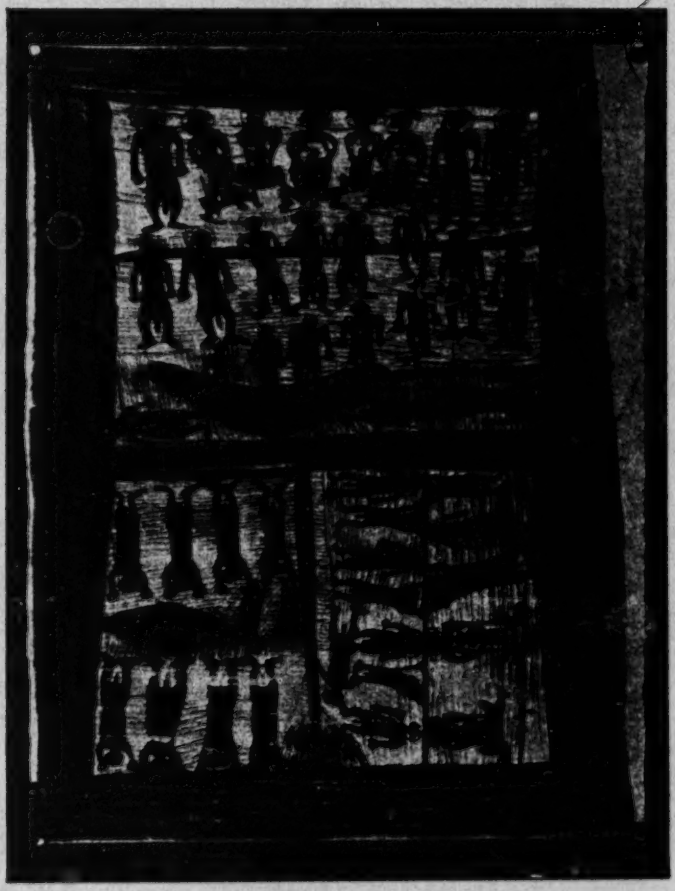

PLATE XVII

[p. 84(H)]

[For an analysis of the above plate, see category 116, pp. 67-68.—Analyst]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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[p. x is blank]

ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Two *nara* postulants emerge from the sacred shade on to the dancing ground, carrying a *rangga* on their shoulders. 16 196

2 Embracing the *rangga* on the sacred ground: one postulant lies between his companion's legs. 16

3 Left-hand panel: *djuda* and *mawulan rangga*; the former are arranged at each side, with three pairs of *mawulan* in the centre. These belong to the people who have issued from the Djanggawul Sisters. 17 532 733

Right-hand panel: Bildjiwuraroiju and Miralaidj, in the position taken for childbirth, with *rangga* folk streaming from them. Their eyes are wide open, with tears flowing; they wear waist-bands and head-bands, and on their arms are armlets with feathered pendants.

Female children are under the round fringed *ngainmara* mats, one at each side of both Sisters, while the male children are unprotected. Each group of people belongs to a certain region.

4 This whole drawing shows in detail various Djanggawul *nara* ceremonies. 17 532 796

From left to right:

First panel, bottom: arm-band dance.

above: the black *gagaga* bird perched on a rock at Walbinboi just outside Jelangbara.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Illustrations

532 796 Second panel, above: the *wviga*, 'young' fresh-water snake dance, postulants each holding spear and womera.

below: *djirindidi* calling of the invocations (*bugali*) on the *gararag* pole. Three men are dancing around him, invoking.

Third panel, above: tide flowing in.

below: the Sea dance, flowing water, etc.

Fourth panel, above: Flying Fox dance—two men on *gararag* pole.

below: Water dancing.

Fifth panel, above: two men dance the male and female goanna.

below: the goanna *rangga*, which is danced by the two men shown above.

band: two *mamrulan rangga*.

Sixth panel, above: wild duck dancing.

below: red parakeet dancing.

118, The *rangga* emblems are displayed on the sacred ground, while special songs relating to them are sung. 32

532 6 713 This is the central panel of a long drawing showing Jelangbara. In the lower right-hand panel, the Djanggawul Brother is holding a *ngainmara* on his thighs (this symbolizes the younger Sister, and his drawing it on to his thighs refers to the conventional position taken in coitus). He then removed *rangga* (*djunda* and *mamrulan*) emblems, shown beside and above him. 33

The younger Sister is seen in the middle of the left-hand panel, with *rangga* at each side.

The central band, with the two *djunda* goanna, represents the sacred shade.

7 *From left to right:* 33

First panel (left), above: *djunda rangga*.

below: a black bird on Gagubam Island, near Port Bradshaw. Flying foxes hanging from the sacred *djunda* tree.

Second panel (right): male and female goanna, frightened by the approach of the Djanggawul, and about to dive into the billabong at Gagubam Island.

above: two goanna *rangga* representing these two goanna, and at the extreme right are two *djunda rangga*.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Illustrations

8 The showing of the Goanna Tail *rangga*, with its parakeet-feathered pendants and decorations, by a ceremonial leader. 80 778 516

9 Postulants dancing the Incoming Tide, coming on to the sacred ground; they imitate the *rangga* folk, who emerged from the Sisters. 81 796 535

10 Invocations are called, while *jiritja* moiety postulants await the emergence of the sacred emblems. 81

11 Left hand panel: a turtle, which has entered a *nguinmara*, after being caught by two men in a canoe; it is surrounded by waves, at Jelangbara. 96 532 773

Second panel, above: Miralaidj, pregnant, showing the long clitoris, on her arrival at Jelangbara. She holds a Goanna Tail and a *mauwulan rangga*.

below: arm-bands with feathered pendants, hanging from a rail of the sacred shade.

Third panel, above: Bildjiwuraroiju, also pregnant; she had been carrying a Goanna Tail *rangga*, but it had slipped from her grasp and fallen to the ground (below, same panel).

Fourth (right-hand) panel, above: the Brother, holding *djuda rangga* which have almost become trees; he is about to plant them.

below: the two *djuda rangga* 'copied' from those the Brother is holding.

12 A ceremonial leader representing the Djanggawul Brother after his landing at Port Bradshaw. He bends forward to taste the fresh water which gushed up after he had inserted the *mauwulan rangga*. 96 796

13 At Gumararanggu, Port Bradshaw (the Yirrkalla side of Jelangbara). Beach and sandhills are shown, with male and female goanna (*rangga*). The central panel shows an Aboriginal camp, comprising people left by the Djanggawul. 97 532

On the right-hand side, the upper panel shows the sun rising, casting its rays.

Below is Belabinja, where the Djanggawul first tasted fresh water when they landed at Jelangbara (*vide* Song 28).

14 The sacred *djauda* goanna on the sandhill at the Place of the Mauwulan (see, e.g., Song 35). 97

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

Illustrations

196 778 15 Calling the *bugali* invocations in front of the sacred *nara* shade, before the emergence of a totemic being. 144

16 The Goanna emblem emerges from the shade, which in this case is constructed from iron. 144

532 778 17 This design represents various sacred shades belonging to different linguistic groups. 145

Left-hand panel, top: sacred goanna on *djuda rangga* tree: the Djanggawul Brother with his *djuda* and *mauwulan* and beating sticks.

below: goanna on *djuda* tree; and sacred Goanna Tail *rangga*.

The two panels are divided by goanna tracks.

Right-hand panel, top: goanna on *djuda* tree; tracks, and sacred design.

below: goanna on *djuda* tree: one Djanggawul Sister with beating sticks, beside Goanna Tail *rangga*.

778 196 18 *Nara* postulants representing male and female Goanna. The Goanna Tail *rangga* rests across the younger man's neck. 145

19 The Djanggawul Goanna emerges from the shade. 160

20 Postulants in stylized attitudes, with the Goanna Tail *rangga*; sacred shade, at the Place of the Mauwulan. 160

778 196 534 21 Two men singing, rhythmically clapping sticks, and blowing the long, sacred Julunggul Rainbow Snake or Rock Python drone pipe, above the posturing sacred goanna of the Place of the Mauwulan. 161

22 To the rhythmic beat of clapping sticks, the Julunggul Rock Python drone pipe emerges from the *dua* moiety *nara* shade. Postulants are lying on their backs, huddled together, with the *rangga* emblem resting upon them. 161

532 773 23 Left-hand panel: Bildjiwuraroiju, Miralaidj and the Djanggawul Brother (top). The Two Sisters have long clitorises, and the Brother a long penis, which drag on the ground, and resemble *djuda rangga*. They hold goanna tail and 208

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Illustrations

mauwulan rangga, one in each hand. People (symbolized by dots) have come from the Two Sisters: a small circle of *rangga* folk is seen dancing, among them the Two Wauwalag Sisters. 532 773

Right-hand panel, above: the Djanggawul Brother is inserting his hand into Miralaidj's vagina, and removing *rangga* folk, shown flowing from her. *Rangga* emblems are ranged beside the Brother and Sister. This took place at Dulmulwondeinbi, near Marabai.

Right-hand panel, below: Bildjiwuraroiju, opposite Miralaidj. The Djanggawul Brother has lifted aside their clitorises, and put his hand into their vaginae. People flow out, male *rangga* folk on one side, and females on the other. This took place at Jalwuljalwul.

24 *From left to right:* 208

First panel: Miralaidj as central figure; on each side of her is a woman, one (above) being her elder Sister and one (below) Bammarimarawi, her daughter and 'sister'.

Afterbirth blood flows from Miralaidj into a hole, and she stands holding two poles; as soon as the hole is filled, it overflows and runs from each side. It is after this that the elder Sister, by hitting the young Sister's hips, stops the flow of blood. Four rangga folk then come out (two men and two women).

Central panel of clapping-sticks (above), and two *mauwulan* with sacred dilly bags attached (below)—(penis and uterus symbols).

Right-hand panel, top: the sun comes up, casting its rays.

below: sunset on the mainland beyond Milingimbi, towards the west.

At Jelangbara.

25 Postulants (both Goanna actors) using the Goanna Tail *rangga* emblem; one supports it on his shoulder, while the other guides it. 209 778 796

26 *Jiritja* moiety *nara*: *rangga* are removed from the shade, and postulants dance. 209 778 796 535

27 Dancing with the *jiritja* moiety *rangga*: dust rises, as dancing feet pound the sacred ground. 224

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

Illustrations

796 28 Neophytes wait with heads bowed, before the showing of the sacred Djanggawul emblems. 224

778 29 Meditation before the sacred Goanna Tail *ranggu*. Postulants caress the feathered pendants—symbolic of the sun's rays, the clitorises, foreskins or umbilical cords. 225
796

Map 8–9

NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

126 The crayon drawings illustrated here represent only a small selection of those available, and stored at the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University. They do not show to advantage in black and white and it is hoped that later on a wider selection will be presented in colour. Only brief descriptions of each drawing have been inserted here; each drawing contains a great deal of detail, which ideally requires considerable explanation, not possible in this volume.

All these drawings were collected between 29th January, 1947 and 15th June, 1947 at Yirrkalla, in north-eastern Arnhem Land. They were done on brown paper with coloured lumber crayon and black pencil, and were used by the writer as an adjunct to his field notes. They conform to traditional patterns and representations, which would normally be drawn on stringy bark boards in coloured ochres. [532]

Significance of the Djanggawul

There seem to have been, originally, several basic types: the *djuda*, or tree *rangga*, from which trees sprang up when the *rangga* was plunged into the ground by the Djanggawul; the *manwulan*, or stick used by the Djanggawul Brother as a 'walking stick', which he plunged into the ground so that spring water gushed forth; the *ganinjari*, 'yam' or walking stick (sometimes confused with the *manwulan*), carried by the Sisters, and used for obtaining water in the same way;[1] and the *djanda*, or tail of the goanna, with the same function as the *manwulan*, derived from the goanna seen by the Djanggawul on arrival at Jelangbara, Port Bradshaw.

These original forms have been elaborated into a variety of *rangga* emblems. They include various poles or objects of totemic *wongar* origin, related directly or indirectly to the Djanggawul; *rangga* symbolizing vulva or vagina, penis or testes; stone *rangga*, derived from a stone which was removed from the vagina of the younger Sister; and conventionalized representations of the Djanggawul themselves, for example, the *wirlgul* (younger Sister) *rangga* or the *gungman* (elder Sister) *rangga*. All of these are decorated with clan patterns derived from those originally given by the Djanggawul[2] to the 'new generation' which emerged from the Sisters' uteri; and most have attached to them feathered string—the red parakeet feathers symbolizing the rays of the sun, the red sky at sunset, or blood from the Sisters. They are used in dancing on the sacred ground, and in posturing before the sacred shade or hut; the latter symbolizes the uterus or *ngainmara* mat, and in it *rangga* are stored just as were the first *rangga* in the beginning. Parakeet feathered string was also among the objects brought by the Djanggawul.

All these objects, then, have symbolic significance, and relate to the basic theme of Djanggawul ritual and mythology. This theme is fertility, manifested in the perpetually pregnant Women, the Two Sisters, in the growth of trees and foliage, in the creation of running springs, and in the abiding and life-giving warmth of the sun's rays. It reflects the Aborigines' fundamental reliance on the products of their natural environment, and their emphasis on the procreation of human and animal life, the continuance of their own species and of the food which supplies them with sustenance. They see the theme of fertility mirrored in their surroundings, and in the rhythmic sequence of the seasons, and recognize their own dependence on these and on other natural phenomena for their very being.

[1] The two Sisters are also said to have urinated in various places, making sometimes small streams, and sometimes pools or wells: in the latter case, the well itself is often likened to their vaginae.

[2] *Vide* A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, pp. 28–41.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Significance of the Djanggawul

831 is a predominantly patrilineal society. The Two Sisters are Original
Mothers of the various *dua* moiety clansfolk, as well as of the
776 *jiritja*. They are Mother Goddesses in the true sense of the term,
for although they were allegedly instrumental in populating the
greater part of eastern Arnhem Land, they are responsible also for
all subsequent fertility. Aborigines call the Sisters 'Our Mothers'.
When men cut the fringe of their sacred dilly bags, or perform
ritual, they are the 'Sons of the Djanggawul'; when they enter the
sacred ground, marked out in a special way, they are returning
to their Mothers' uteri; when they enter the sacred hut on the
ritual ground, they are also returning to their Mothers' uteri (or
uterus, when one hut is used, referring to the elder Sister). The
same theme is expressed symbolically in a variety of ways. The
whole concept of the return to the Mother on ritual occasions is
particularly interesting;[1] but we shall not digress to discuss the
theoretical interpretation, as favoured by some modern psycho-
analytic schools of thought.

113 The most important focal point of interest in the Djanggawul
myth and songs is procreation, and its ramifications. In some draw-
●532 ings from Yirrkalla the Two Sisters are depicted with people (or
831 children) 'flowing' out from their vulvae. Their legs are apart and
776 flexed, their eyes open with tears running from the pain of child-
birth. This concept of people flowing from the Mothers' uteri is
used in western-central Northern Territory in reference to the
Kunapipi Mother,[2] who is also said to 'let postulants out from her
womb during ceremonial time'. (This same theme is expressed,
both symbolically and directly, at Yirrkalla and Millingimbi.) The
relationship between the Djanggawul and the Kunapipi Mother is
an interesting question, which unfortunately cannot be treated
here.[3]

831 The Djanggawul were possessed of abnormally long genitalia.
776 The Brother had an elongated penis, emphasizing, through exaggera-
tion, his masculine function in the fertility scheme. The Two
Sisters had abnormally long clitorises,[4] a feature more difficult to
explain. The Aborigines themselves offer no explanation, except
that the *rangga* may have been derived from them. For example,
when the penis and clitorises were eventually foreshortened, the

[1] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*.

[2] *Vide* R. Berndt, *op. cit.*, Chapters II–IV, IX, and R. and C. Berndt, 'The Eternal Ones of the Dream' (being a discussion of Dr. G. Róheim's book of that name), *Oceania*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, pp. 67–78, three plates.

[3] Some mention has been made of this in *Kunapipi*, Chapters I *c* and III.

[4] *Vide* Chapters 2 and 3. The significance of the Sisters' clitorises is revealed in the songs.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

severed parts became *rangga* or feathered strings, which are also regarded as *rangga*. An interesting interpretation was made by one informant, himself a ceremonial leader. Within historic times, he said, a certain man was born with both vagina and penis, and with breasts like a woman; he was bi-sexual and produced a child, after which he died. Commenting on this example, which was told to him by a grandparent, the informant suggested that these Djanggawul Sisters may have originally been bi-sexual, so that their clitorises were actually penes which they used to impregnate themselves by inserting into the vagina; for the 'clitoris-penes' were sufficiently long to curve round and use for coitus. The same informant stated that the Djanggawul Brother may possibly have been introduced later. This is, however, the tentative interpretation of one man, and does not represent group opinion.

The presence of elongated clitorises can possibly be explained in terms of the tendency to accentuate a female organ (as has been done in the case of the male); or they may, symbolically, represent the umbilical cord (as in the Song Cycle). The former explanation seems to be more probable, for much stress is placed on the erectness of a woman's clitoris during coitus,[1] while the clitorises of many Aboriginal women are fairly well developed; they are played with and handled by women from pre-adolescent days, in an endeavour to increase their size, so attracting the attentions of men and heightening their sexual satisfaction. In other drawings from the Yirrkalla area, the Djanggawul Sisters have long clitorises, dragging on the ground. In one illustration we see the Two Sisters with elongated clitorises, and the Brother with his long penis; they are holding *rangga*, and people are coming out to be placed on a *ngainmara* mat. The same drawing shows the Wauwalak Sisters,[2] who are the daughters of the Djanggawul, while the Brother puts his hand into the Sisters' wombs to remove the people. The Brother's inserting his hand into the uteri, to remove the people (children), is compared with his putting his hand into the *ngainmara* to remove the sacred *rangga*. Further, it suggests that the Sisters did not invariably give birth to such people in the normal way. The Brother's action in inserting his hand merely accentuates the theme by introducing a further point, which can be more easily represented in symbolism—that is, by the *rangga* and *ngainmara*, illustrating the phenomenon of childbirth.

Professor Lloyd Warner was the first to note the presence of the Djanggawul (which he called Djunkgao) cult, presenting this

[1] *Vide* R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, for publication.

[2] The Wauwalak Sisters sponsor all *Kunapipi*, *ngurlmag* and *djunggawon* ritual. *Vide* R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Chapters I *s*, III and IV.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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3. *Rangga* folk emerge from the Djanggawul Sisters.

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4. Various phases of the *nara* Djanggawul ceremonies.

[Facing p. 17]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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sacred possessions were lost, a rôle which before this loss belonged to the men.

The sequence of the preceding ritual depends on the completion of the many *rangga*, the availability of men and neophytes, the abundance of red ochre and parakeet breast feathers, and the amount of food collected by the women. Although much of the latter is collected throughout the ceremonies, cycad 'bread' is stored, and its preparation commences weeks before the first rituals begin.

Just after the first ceremonies, people from other groups come to the main camp where the *nara* is being held. They have been summoned by specially designed message sticks, feathered string, or miniature copies of *rangga* objects moulded from wild honey wax. Ideally, at this point, all the *rangga* should be ready; but in practice, painting of the objects usually continues for some time, and visitors make and paint additional emblems. All these *rangga* relate to various features of the Djanggawul myth: the *rangga* brought by the Djanggawul; representations of the Djanggawul themselves, or their separate organs; natural phenomena; or totemic objects and species associated with the Djanggawul. Incidentally, the majority of the dances enact something of the behaviour of totemic species, and are carried out with the *rangga*.

When initially, at the onset of the ritual, the *rangga* are removed from the water or mud they are said to be like, firstly, *rangga* removed from the *ngainmara*, and secondly, children removed from the Sisters' wombs. Placing one's arm (or hand) into the water or mud to remove the *rangga* is like the Djanggawul Brother's inserting his hand into the vaginae of the Sisters to remove the children. The sacred clan patterns drawn with ochres on the objects are derived from water marks, which the Djanggawul's original *rangga* acquired during their journey in the bark canoe from Bralgu. Alternatively, these patterns symbolize 'womb marks' on a new-born child. Ochre is symbolic of blood, or the sun's rays, or the warmth of a fire: blood from afterbirth, rays of sun from the *daga* vagina disc of the sun, and fire (warmth) from the sun. The red breast feathers of the parakeet are symbolic of the sun's rays, of blood, or of an umbilical cord. The reiteration of dancing associated with the sea in every case signifies the great importance of the Djanggawul's landing at Jelangbara, which is one of the most sacred sites associated with these Beings. The singing of water from the sacred waterholes refers to these Beings inserting their *rangga*, and removing them so that water will gush forth; this is symbolic of coitus, and the rise of water is the flow of semen which fertilized both human beings and the earth. It represents, too, the

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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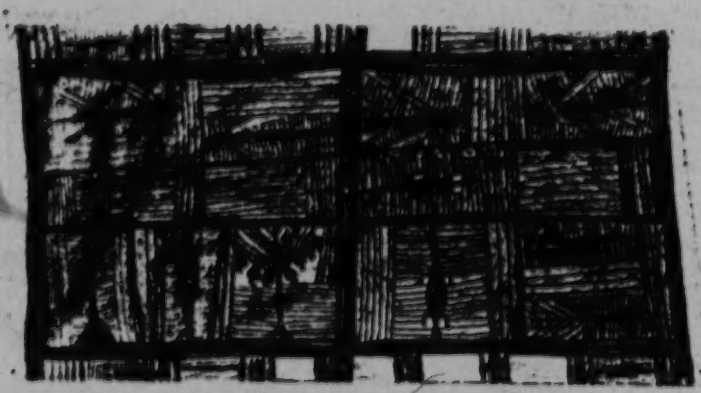
6. The Djanggawul Brother and younger Sister at Jelangbara.



7. Sacred *ranggu* at Port Bradshaw.

[facing p. 33]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

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11. The Djanggawul Beings on arrival at Jelangbara, holding *rangga* emblems.

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12. A ceremonial leader (Manimbar) represents the Djanggawul Brother as he tastes water on arriving at Port Bradshaw.

[p. 92(A)]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

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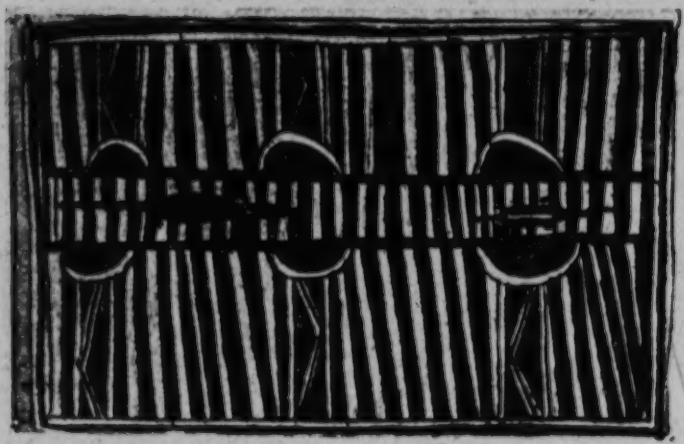
13. Sacred sites at Port Bradshaw, showing *rangga* folk left by the Djanggawul.



14. The sacred goanna at the Place of the Mauwulan.

[p. 92(B)]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

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17. Various sacred shades, with the Djanggawul.

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18. *Nara* postulants representing male and female Goanna.

[p. 92(D)]

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
OI17 Murngin OI17

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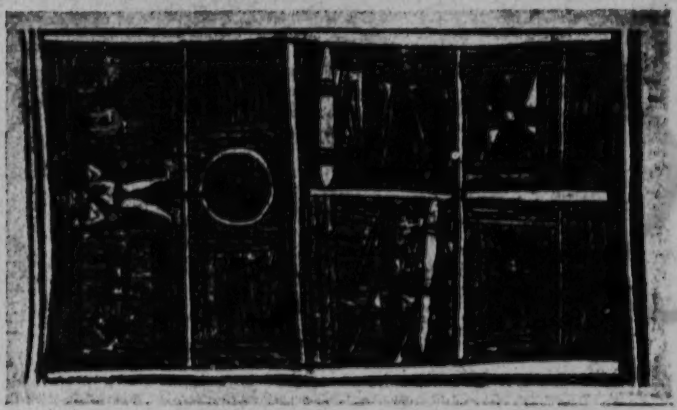
23. The Djanggawul Beings: the Brother removes *ranggo* folk from his Sisters.



24. Scenes from the Djanggawul Cycle: the Sisters; Miralaidj in childbirth; sacred emblems, etc.

[p. 92(G)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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western Arnhem Land, too, coming up from the south and the south-east almost to the coast near Goulburn Islands.

The north-eastern people, like their western neighbours, pay great attention to the outward expression of their religious ideas, to provide a guide to ritual behaviour and to impress certain concepts on the minds of postulants. Their sacred objects do not consist only of those introduced by Djanggawul, Laindjung and other Beings. In the *nara* and other rituals many beautifully made *rangga* are used, some associated with natural species or with totemic features, others with human organs and ancestral people. Usually conventionalised, they are made from hard or soft woods, cane or paperbark, sometimes bound with jungle-tree twine, and decorated with clan totemic designs and colourful feathered strings. Human figures carved from blocks of wood are painted and ornamented in a similar way. Many other sacred objects are used in the Wauwalak ceremonies – the *ubar* drum of the *ngurlmag*, for example, the tall grass-bound *Jelmalandji* posts of the *kumapipi*, and the long *julunggul* "trumpets" and dancing posts of the *djunggawon*. In western Arnhem Land, religious feeling finds concrete expression in the varied shapes and designs of the *maraiin* objects, which include representations of birds and animals. Their form and workmanship are usually pleasing to the eye, but to the craftsman this is of secondary importance.[2]

Let us summarise the place of indigenous religion among the people of Arnhem Land.

In Aboriginal societies throughout Australia, this religious faith has been the mainstay of social life, giving meaning and background to behaviour patterns and institutions. Most people believed unquestioningly in the essential "rightness" of their way of life. Everything was explained, each member of the community had a definite place in the scheme of things, and the future was well determined.

Today, however, the Aborigines find that conditions are rapidly changing. The pressure of contact is greater now than it has been in the past. Beliefs that they have held for centuries are being questioned, and new ways and ideas are being enforced.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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Plate 5: Drawing: Melville Bay during Indonesian contact.

[p. 25(B)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

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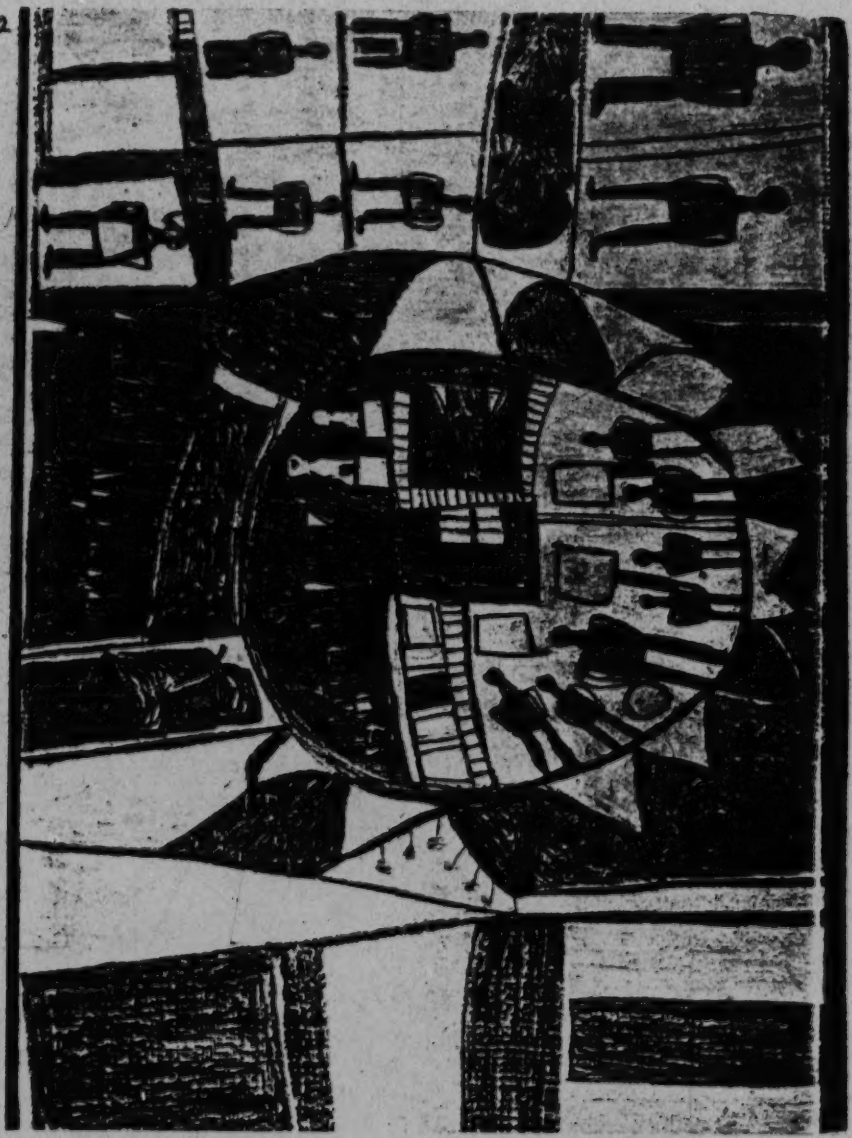

Plate 7: Drawing: The Port of Macassar and its immediate vicinity.

[p.25(a)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

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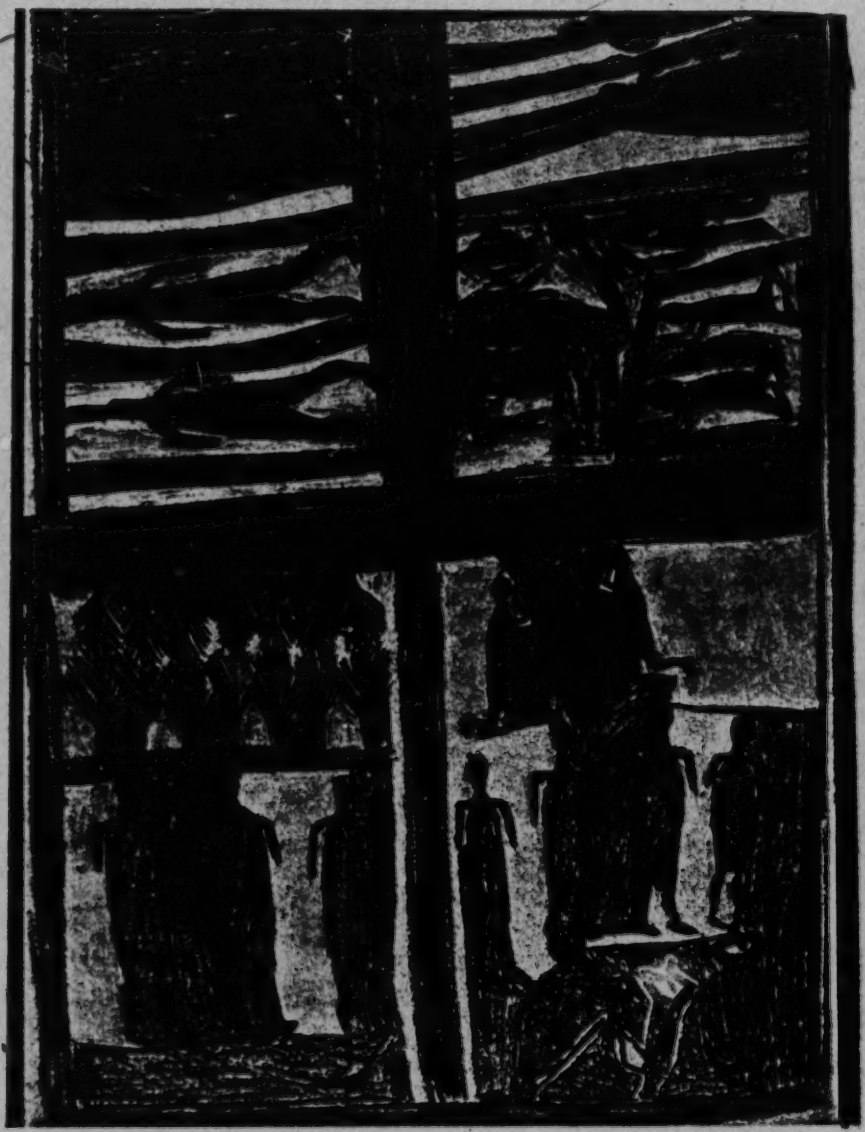

Plate 9: Drawing: A wuramu "Collection" ceremony at Port Bradshaw.

[p.25(F)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

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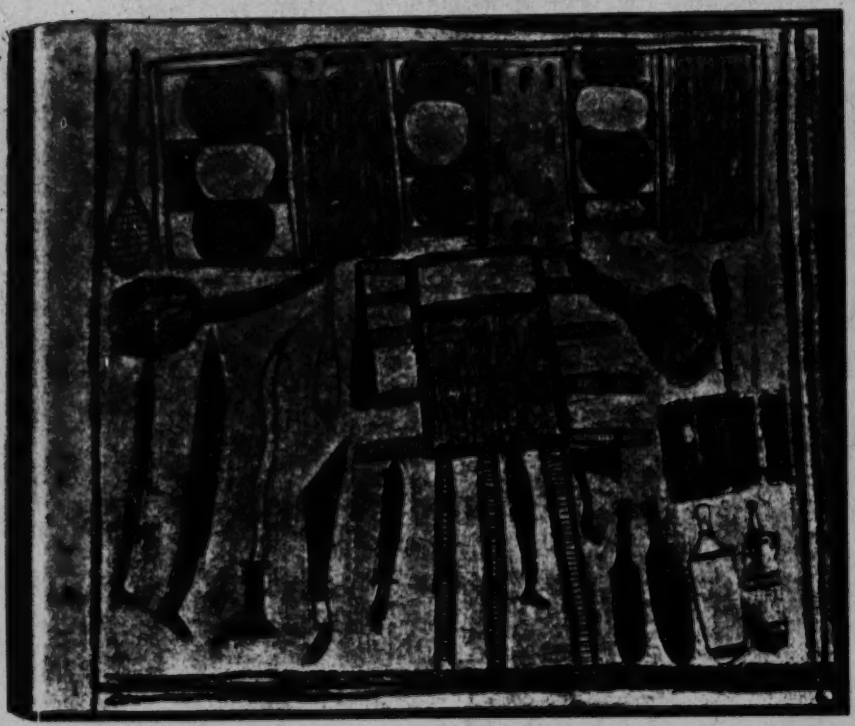

Plate 10: Drawing: A Macassan trepang site on the Australian mainland.

[p.25(G)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

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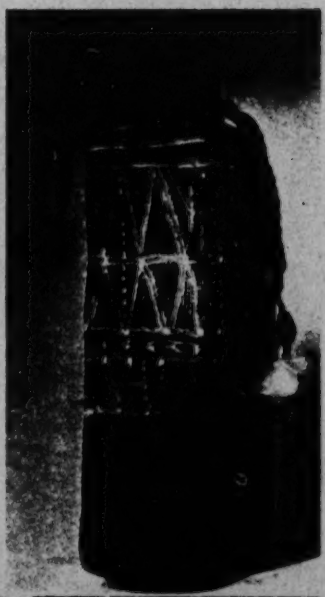

Plate 5. Replica or "*mälli*" of old square-faced bottle which has been elevated to the level of a ceremonial totem of Mildjiŋi clan, emphasising the social and material value of glass. The geometric design in polychrome represents clouds, highly conventionalised, reflected on the wet surface of the bottle washed up on the shore. The small figures around the centre are trepang or *bêche-de-mer* seen through clear water.

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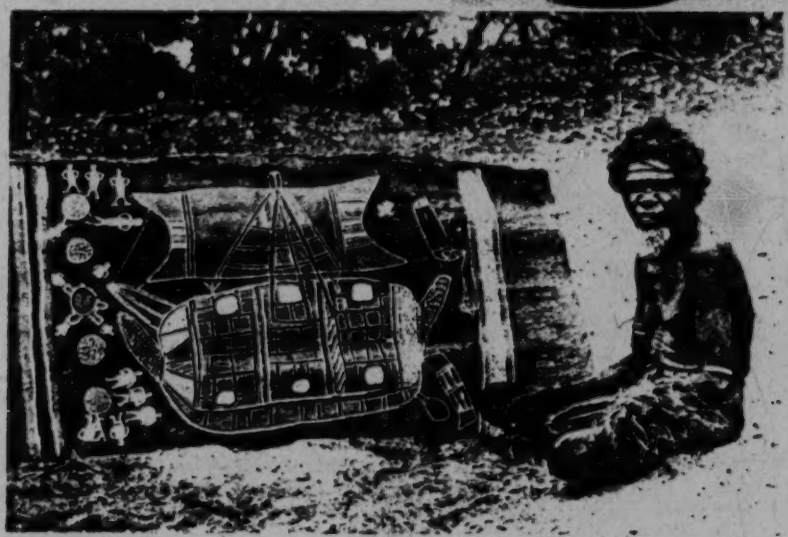
Plate 6. Wongo of Caledon Bay with a drawing in polychrome of a Macassar prau (*mitjäŋ*). These craft made regular visits to the coast of Arnhem Land and introduced *gerri* of a type called, collectively, "*muadäk*", which gave impetus to the ceremonial exchange cycle in this territory.



[p. 58(B)]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
OI17 Murngin OI17

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Plate 2: Drawing: Port Bradshaw; at its hey-day when it was an important Indonesian settlement.

[Facing p. 20]

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Plate 12a: Drawing: A Macassan prau.

Plate 12b: Japanese luggers off Cape Stewart.

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[facing p. 182]

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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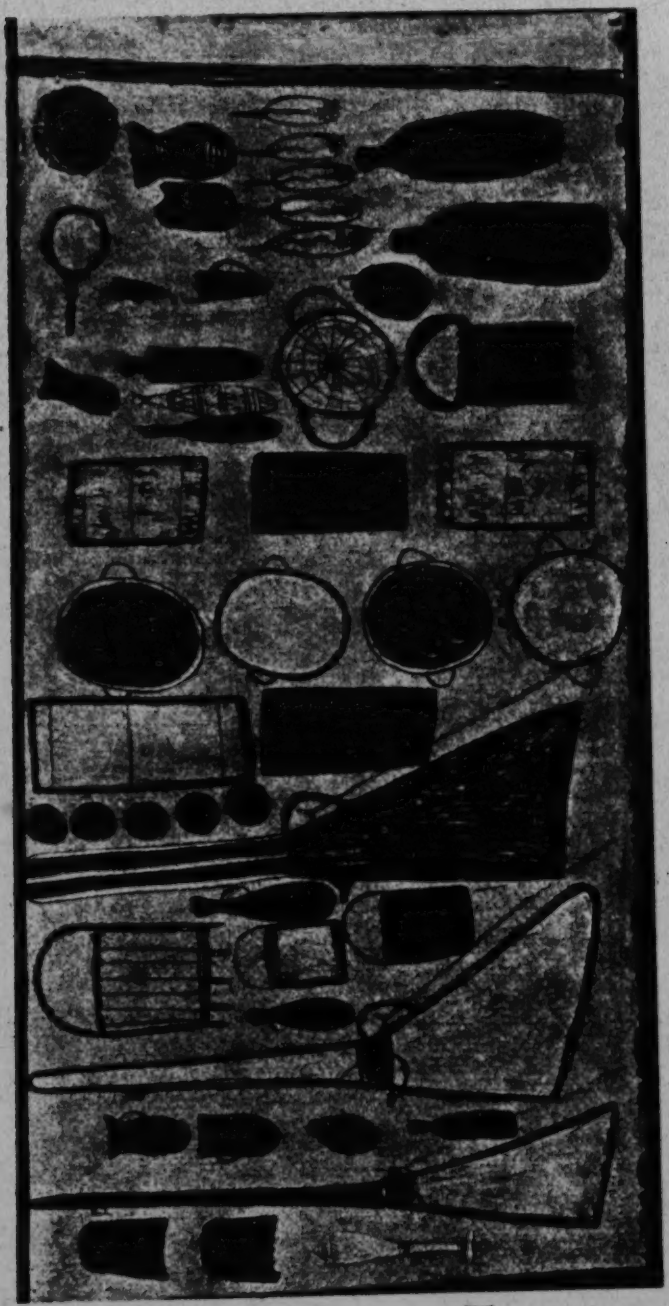

Plate 13: Drawing: Various articles that were introduced by the Indonesians.

[facing p. 183]

FROM THE SOCIAL STANDPOINT THE CONSTANT
flow of *muadäk* from the Macassar visitors enabled a man of this area to discharge his obligations to those from whom he had received *gerri*, and to maintain and to build up his prestige. From the economic point of view it had the effect of stimulating the circulation of *gerri*, of maintaining a balanced exchange of goods, under cover of what, to the natives, is the vastly more important social and ceremonial relationship.

The orientation of the ceremonial exchange system as it still operates, with the emphasis on the "approved" or traditional *gerri* in each *kumur*, leaves no doubt as to the impetus which the coming of the Indonesians gave to the culture of this area. The people of the coast, who in former times came into direct contact with the Macassar visitors—and in more recent times, with trepang fishermen and casual seafarers—and who have provided the iron, nails, and bottles (for glass scrapers, etc.) for their exchange partners, are named from the special *gerri*, known collectively as *muadäk*, which they send as reciprocal gifts to their partners in the south.

It is not proposed to deal at length with the ceremonial aspect of this infiltration, and a single reference will suffice to show the effect on ceremonial life, which gives weight to the data which has been recorded, and of the value placed upon the *gerri* which were brought by the Macassar seafarers, as well as the effect of this on economic and social life.

The Mildjini clan of the Glyde River has not only come strongly under the influence of these Indonesian people, but among other traits, has adopted a square-faced bottle, called *butulo*, and has elevated it to the level of a clan totem. Today the *mälli*, the representation, "the shade", the non-material representation or effigy of this bottle, is carved laboriously from solid ironwood, and is painted with a

177 sacred totemic design called *tärruponon*—comprising
431 clouds in highly conventionalised form—which the people
532 say were reflected on the wet surface of the old square-
778 faced bottles when they were found, wet and glistening, cast up by the sea. So that for Mildjiŋi, the bottle, which is regarded as part of the heritage from the Macassar visitors, had a double interest. It ranked among *kumur muadäk gerri* for ceremonial exchange and as an ordinary "*wäkkinŋu*" (non-sacred) manifestation of the *butulo*, which mythology tells them was brought, in ancestral times, by the Munäŋa, the Macassar seafarers, and which therefore gives the people a charter for the adoption by Mildjiŋi clan of *butulo* as a ceremonial totem.

114 Here is proof, not only of the recognition of the social
177 value of bottles, which in former times were valued greatly
431 as material for scrapers, but also a refutation of Warner's statement as to the conservatism of Arnhem Land culture and what he has termed the "strong resistance of the Murngin culture to outside influence". The example quoted is only one instance of an influence which has been widespread in Arnhem Land culture.

To suggest that it is unlikely that many of the iron axes which were brought by the Malays would reach the interior people, is to underestimate the dynamic effect of the impact of this virile culture on the people of Arnhem Land. In 1935 I made a long patrol on foot across Arnhem Land, and I remember well seeing, on the wall of a rock shelter, far inland, the drawing of an iron axe of the special type called *luŋa linya*, brought in former times by the Macassar people. At the time I felt some surprise, but this feeling disappeared with the subsequent discovery and understanding of the operation of the ceremonial exchange system

14: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1961 O117 Murngin O117

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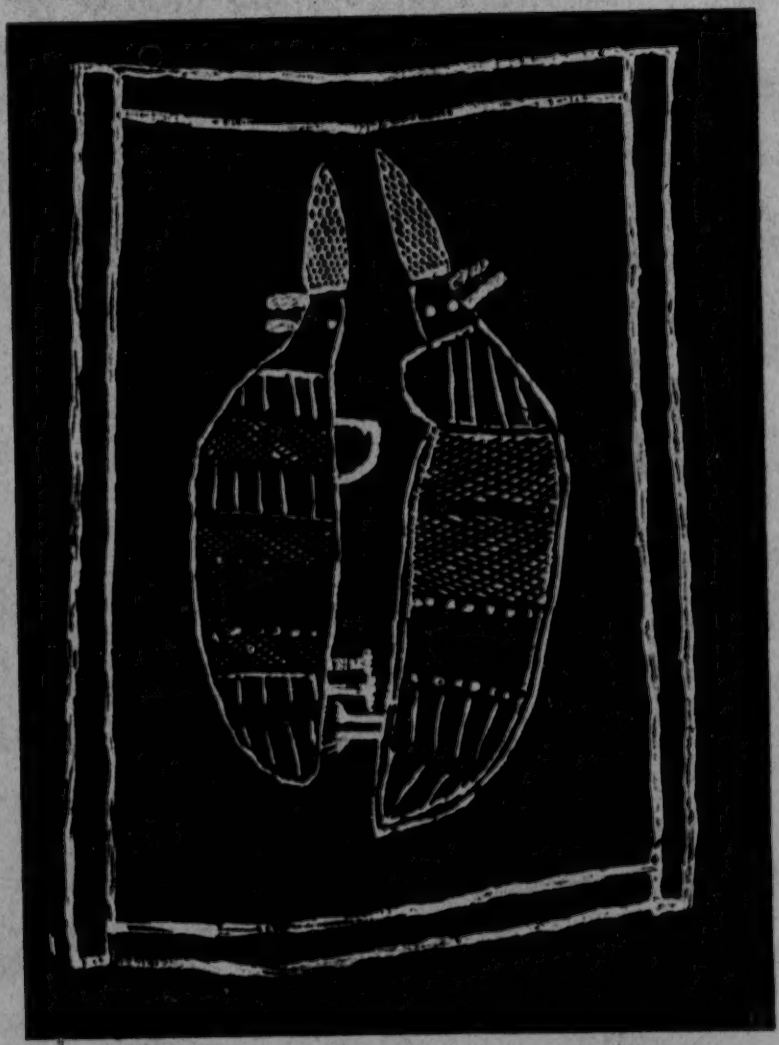

THE TWO 'MARRNGIT' OF MEDICINEMAN WATTIYA, DRAWN BY HIMSELF

Left, the spirit familiar Barratanwoi, right, Kanyirtinga. The white, cross-hatched areas on the heads of the figures represent hair, the lateral projec ears, and the two small circles on the neck region eyes; the cross-hatching on the bodies represents body hair (daurwar, *as distinct from* marra, *the of the head). Wattiya said: that each* marrngit *has a stone* (kunda) *embedded in its sternum* (kumur), *which provides its driving force, and that force is distinct from its* marr, *spiritual power; that the stone is 'like the wing of a bird'* (nakun binbar warralkan); *that they represent the m shadow or shade, 'half* birimbir, nakun morkoi,' i.e. *half spirit, like a ghost, like the ghost from a dead person; and, in explanation of their w movement, 'it does not go on foot'* (yakka diango djalkirri marigi).

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

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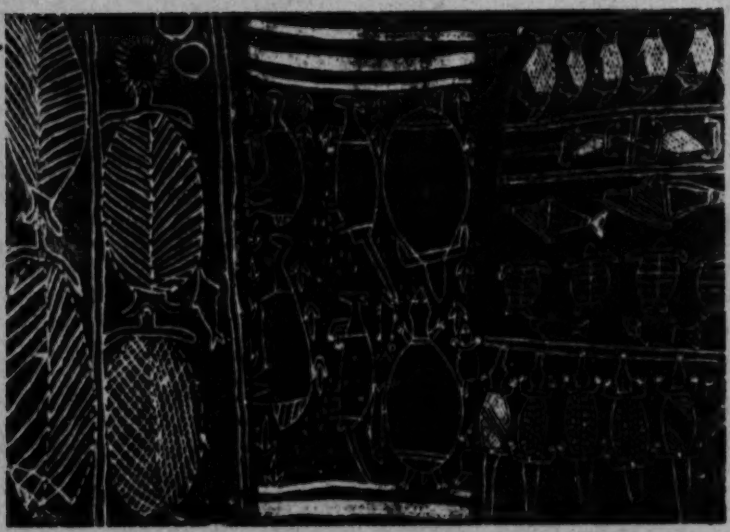

BARK PAINTINGS

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A WITCH DOCTOR
or 'Marrngitt'

[facing p87]

532 756 131 The drawings in polychrome from north-eastern Arnhem Land that accompany this paper* were made on sheets of stringy bark (*Eucalyptus tetrodonta*) by three medicinemen, called *marngitmirri*, members of Mildjingi clan of the lower Glyde River, and of two neighbouring clans, Liagauwumirr' and Ngalladar 617 Tjambarpoingo. Mildjingi is a clan of *yiritja* moiety and Liagauwumirr' and Tjambarpoingo are members of the opposite moiety, *dua*, in which certain terminal vowels, notably *i* and *o* are elided as an arbitrary mark of distinction [N7] between clans of different moieties whose members speak similar languages. In Wanguri clan of the Arnhem Bay area the word *mulong* is applied to the medicineman.

776 In each case the figures drawn by the medicineman 787 represent the spirits called *marngit*, two or more in 756 number, which adopt certain men, often first subjecting them to an ordeal or series of ordeals, after which they are known as *marngitmirri*—medicinemen—and are vested with the special powers of this cult.

The *marngit* or spirit familiars of two of the three medicinemen from eastern Arnhem Land who claimed to be *marngitmirri* are shown in Plates I and Ja. These *marngit* were said first to have visited the men whom they later adopted, subjecting them to a series of ordeals. Sometimes they brought sickness, in other cases, according to my informants, they inflicted injuries, sometimes actually breaking bones and almost killing the novice, after which they restored him and then invited the initiate in turn to try his own skill by injuring the *marngit* and restoring him. After a more or less lengthy period of trial by way of initiation, the *marngit* finally adopted the *marngitmirri* and thenceforth helped and guided him in the practice of the cult.

756 According to most of my informants, the cult of the *marngitmirri* or medicineman in eastern Arnhem Land is restricted to men only, although it is not a sacred cult and is not secret—that is, it does not depend upon ritual or supernatural backing, and is carried out in open camp without any secrecy, in the presence of women and children. Many of the *marngit*, the spirit familiars them- [776] selves, were said by my informants to be females. Although women do not appear to become *marngitmirri* they do [791 practise as rainmakers. Some of the rainmakers of east 562] Arnhem Land, of whom there were three in Mildjingi clan—the clan of Wilindjango—were women, one of whom was renowned for her prowess with the rites and magical spells of the rainmaker. However, although rain- [788] making depends upon the understanding and correct observance of certain rituals and the use of the appropriate

* *With Plates I and J*

[p. 97 (B)]

14: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1961 Oll7 Murngin Oll7

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(a) *Marrngit of Man'ayerl'nyir of Tjamarpoinga clan. The three flat objects at the top are stones, with holes represented by spots. The winged male* marrngit *is Mallagurrpallanirr, the other his wife (and sister) Barrambit. They come from Gurrumanna on the mainland of Arnhem Land behind Howard Island. Left, the snake Bundango.*

(b) *The six* marrngit *of Wilindjango of Milidingi clan, Lower Clyde River, and the 'shade' (mulk) of the* marrngitmirri *himself, lower right. Next to him are Nuri, male, and Marnang'dang, the female; the bulge is the womb in which she bore the four junior* marrngit *above.*

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(c) *Wilindjango, whose* marrngit *are shown in (b) above. This man was also a renowned rainmaker of his clan. The basket-like structure on his forehead is* ngamak *(lit. flesh), dried human flesh or* mango *(blood) which are used in the practice of magic and ritual cannibalism. The two small wooden pegs projecting from the basket are* yel *and are made from ironwood (Erythrophloeum laboucherii). They are part of the stock in-trade of the* marrngit.

(d) *Sorcerer, called* ngalk *or* kalk', *Borawa Tribe, Cape Stewart district, north central Arnhem Land, with* kandjurma, *stiletto-like objects sharpened to a fine point and made from ironwood called* maipin. *The* ngalk *are said to insert these* kandjurma *into the hearts of their victims by way of the neck, thence down the dorsal aorta. In this way they claim the* ngalk *draws out the blood of his victim. In Australia these* kandjurma *are popularly known as 'pointing bones.'*

'MARRNGIT,' 'MARRNGITMIRRI' AND 'KALKA'

Photographs (c, d): D. F. Thomson

[Facing p. 97]

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

411 flat strip of wood three feet long and two to three inches wide. It is held between the second and third fingers so that the end of the thrower rests in the palm. At the opposite end there is a short hook, or pointed stub of hardwood, bound firmly in place with string and gum. The end of a spear is slightly concave, so that it fits over the hook on the thrower, which is then extended above and behind the shoulder for the throw. A man's thrust is greatly increased by the spear-thrower, and heavy and light spears are thrown with dangerous accuracy for distances of from forty to eighty yards; I have seen them thrown fifty yards and penetrate six inches into a tough palm tree. A nomad and his mangal are inseparable, and if by chance he loses or breaks his spear, or even finds it inconvenient to carry one, he always carries his spear-thrower. If a spear is unexpectedly thrown at him he has a good chance of throwing it back at his enemy if he has his spear-thrower.

531 Men use infinite care in painting and decorating themselves, their weapons, and utensils, and in ceremonial life they will spend weeks in making, painting, and decorating totems. Decorative art is limited by an unchanging background of mythology and religion, and sacred designs are passed from father to son to be meticulously reproduced when preparing youths for initiation, or on corpses, skulls, and burial posts. There is little originality in ceremonial artistry, but nomads are not devoid of artistic tendencies and spend a lot of time in decorating weapons and utensils. A woman patiently weaves a dilly-bag and then sets about mixing coloured clays for its decoration; her aesthetic impulse is gratified, although the bag is not improved thereby. Youths decorate play-spears, and they cannot refrain from smearing designs on their bodies if they find moist clay or soft ochre. 532 Men paint pictures of animals, fish, and birds on sheets of bark for pleasure, and when we took horses and

18:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

cattle to Yirrkala it was not long before their likeness too appeared on bark sheets. 532

I saw little-known caves on the Wessel Islands, in which totemic myths had been painted side by side with Japanese pearlers, Macassar proas, and odd European wanderers. Rock paintings are common in many parts of Australia, except in Arnhem Land where outcrops of rock are so rare that only three lots of rock paintings have been found. Here the primitive artist uses a bark sheet, which in itself indicates some measure of aesthetic impulse, for it is not easily obtained and has no permanence.

The Serpent in sacred myths is spiritually present in the 'maraian' or log painted with totemic symbols. For ceremonies, the maraian is kept in a bush shelter deep in the scrub, and initiated men guard it till the moment arrives for its dramatic elevation. They push their way through the shelter toward the over-awed initiates, and grovel, shudder, squirm, and roll over and over with strained and contorted faces, as if overcome by dread of the long maraian so carefully borne across their bodies. Wriggling along in the rear, the leader of the ceremony blows through the maraian and produces the low booming sound so feared by women and children and believed to be the voice of the Serpent. 778 531 796

Designs on maraian are made from coloured clays, string, and feathers. Hundreds of yards of string are wound on some of them, and the effect is enhanced by weaving into it white birds'-down, red and green parrots' feathers, or opossum fur. Red ochre-stone from a totem centre on Elcho Island is traded for hundreds of miles, and is in demand because of a greasy property which makes it adhere to the skin. Ordinary clay-paints crack and peel, but this is overcome by crushing orchid stems and smearing the sticky juice over the body before applying the paint. Participants in ceremonies decorate themselves with totemic designs, and glue long lines of white birds'-down on their 386 531 [778] [237] [238] [307] [824] 531 301

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

bodies. This glue is obtained by cutting a vein in the arm, painting the blood on the skin and adding feathers before it congeals. Paint brushes are made from human hair or from twigs.

I remember watching Wonggu mix his colours in shells, flatten his bark, and prepare his orchid gum. Only then did he realize that he needed a brush, so he leaned over and cut a tuft of hair from his son's head, bound it to a twig and commenced his mural.

A well-known anthropologist stayed with us at Yirrkala and obtained a big selection of aboriginal arts and crafts and bark paintings. He paid the Yulengor well, and they gave full play to their ingenuity, manufacturing such things as bows and arrows which, incidentally, are not used by aborigines. I saw several paintings in the collection in the usual red, yellow, white, and black, together with an additional vivid blue. Not having seen blue before, I could not account for it till later in the day my wife chanced to remark that several of her blue-bags had disappeared.

Body decorations are made by mutilating the skin, and one pleasing mutilation resembles a string of beads on a woman's breast, where each bead is a raised nodule of flesh about the size of a pea. Women and girls sear a pattern on the skin with firesticks, and rub pipeclay into the wound; a more common practice is to cut the marks into the flesh before filling them with clay. For reasons of vanity and custom, a woman has a few cicatrices across her hips, and possibly on her shoulders, and in the event of sorrow she adds some to her midriff. If a brother should die, a sister paints horizontal lines across the backs of her legs below the knees, and when his bones are being collected she substitutes gashes for her clay markings.

It was explained that a man gets a friend to cut the customary perpendicular lines from his shoulder and halfway to his elbow, but he himself makes the more important

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
OI17 Murngin OI17

one end with bark. A hole is made in the side of the tube for a piece of curved tin or a thimble to hold the tobacco. Birds, animals, or men are sometimes carved or painted on the stem. As a special favour a man will promise a pipe to a friend when it is worn out, and after months of constant use, when the pipe is saturated with nicotine, the presentation is made. The recipient proceeds to crush the frail tube and scrape its interior for the handful of nicotine shavings; other men gather, a pipe is filled with the moist shavings, and with a coal on top it is passed from one to another. It is customary to draw only once or twice, and everyone fills his lungs with smoke, holds it as long as possible and reluctantly exhales. The mixture is so strong that a whiff of it will cause coughing and the eyes to water.

Clap-sticks and drone-pipes, or 'didjery-doos', are the only musical instruments known to Stone Age men. Drone-pipes are hollow tree-trunks, about four feet long and three inches in diameter, which have been eaten out by white ants. Men blow through them, and the low drumming sound can be heard from camps at night as the people join in the camp-songs. Clap-sticks, or short pieces of hardwood, are beaten together, and make a noise sometimes like the rat-a-tat of a kettle-drum. Nomads are musically inclined; they will sing from dusk till midnight for pleasure, and also in times of sorrow. Myths are transmitted and thoughts are expressed in song. Apart from songs with refrains, well-known theme-songs relate to Yulengor themselves, to camp-sites, sharks, the sea, rain, and canoes loaded with fish.

A 'camp-site' song has words and phrases fitted into the timing according to the fancy of the leader, and is interspersed by humming or the repetition of euphonious phrases. A song might go something like this:

'Coming to a camp' . . . 'men recline and await the women' 'Yanja, Wilama, Wirrwa', etc. (favoured camp-site names)

3: Mountford
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Murngin OI 17

[Materials relating to representational art among the Murngin, especially as they pertain to mythology, may be found in Category 116, pp. 3-8, 10, 271-303, 305-10, 313-23, 326-411, 415-454, 456, 459, 467-474, and 489-502.--Analyst]

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